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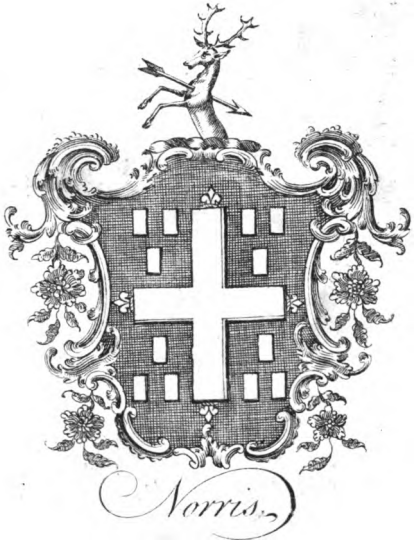

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THE CREDIBILITY OF THE GOSPEL HISTORY:

PART II.

OR THE PRINCIPAL FACTS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

Confirmed by Paſſages of ancient Authors, who were contemporary with our SAVIOUR, or his APOSTLES, or lived near their Time.

VOL. VI.

Containing the Hiſtory of ARCHELAUS, Biſhop in Meſopotamia, and the MANICHEANS, with the PAULICIANS, and other Articles interſperſed, and their Teſtimony to the Books of the NEW TESTAMENT.

By *NATHANIEL LARDNER*. D.D.

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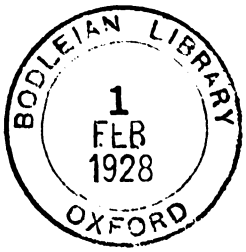

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March 18. 1758.

THE

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THE PRINCIPAL FACTS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT CONFIRMED, &c.

BOOK I.

CHAP. LXII.

ARCHELAUS, *Biſhop in Meſopotamia.*

I. *The Hiſtorie, and Antiquity of a Work, aſcribed to* ARCHELAUS. II. *Extracts out of it, and the Author's Teſtimonie to the Books of the New Teſtament.*

I. SAYS *Jerome:* "*Archelaus (a)* "a Biſhop of *Meſopotamia*, wrote "in the Syriac language a book "of his Conference [or Diſpute] with *Ma-* "*nichee* *Age uncertain.*

(a) Archelaus epiſcopus Meſopotamiae librum diſputationis ſuae, quam habuit adverſum Manichaeum, exeuntem ex

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Time uncertain.

" *nichee* at his coming out of *Perſia*, which " has been tranſlated into Greek. He flou- " riſhed under the Emperour *Probus*, who " ſucceeded *Aurelian* and *Tacitus*."

This piece, as we now have it, contains two conferences with *Mani*, one at *Caſchar*, or *Carchar*, a city in the Roman part of *Meſopotamia*, and another at *Diodoris*, a village, or ſmall town, in the ſame countrey; with an hiſtorical account of the life and death of *Mani*, and ſome other things.

The greateſt part of it is now only in a Latin tranſlation, not made from the ſuppoſed Syriac original, but from *(b)* Greek. When this Latin tranſlation was made, is not certain. *Zacagni*, the editor, ſuppoſeth, that *(c)* it was not in being in *Jerome*'s time, but that however it was made before the ſeventh centurie. Another learned writer argues, that *(d)* this tranſlation was not made ſooner than the ſixth, or the later part of the fifth

ex Perſide, Syro ſermone compoſuit, qui tranſlatus in Graecum habetur a multis. Claruit ſub Imperatore Probo, qui Aureliano et Tacito ſucceſſerat. *De V. I. c. 72.*

(b) Porro Graecam verſionem, non vero Syriacum textum prae manibus Latinum interpretem habuiſſe —— ſatis ſuperque demonſtratur. *Zacagn. Praef. §. v. in.*

(c) ib. n. iv. f.

(d) See Beauſobr. Hiſt. de Manich. T. i. Diſſ. Prelim. p. 6.

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fifth centurie, becauſe the conference itſelf was unknown to *Auguſtin*, and likewiſe to Pope *Leo*, who dyed in 461. *Time uncertain.*

It is thought, that *(e)* this piece is not now entire and compleat.

Archelaus is placed by *Cave*, and many others, as flouriſhing about the year 278. *Beauſobre*'s opinion of this book, entitled *the Acts of the Diſputation of Archelaus with Mani, or Manichee.* is, "that *(f)* it is, in "general, a romance, publiſhed by ſome "*Greek*, about the year of our Lord 330. "fifty or ſixty years after *Mani*'s death." "There are in it, he *(g)* ſays, ſome truths, "but not many, and thoſe diſguiſed, and "mixed with manifeſt falſhoods." Again: "It *(h)* is a fiction of ſome *Greek*, who

(e) Illud tamen diſſimulare non poſſum, Acta iſta diſputationis Archelai cum Manete, quae ex Vaticano Caſinenſis codicis apographo primi edimus, integra nequaquam videri, ſed pluribus in locis a librario mutilata. *Zac. ib. n.* 14. *in.*

(f) En general toute cette piece, qu' on nomme les Actes de la Diſpute d' Archelaus, n'eſt qu' un roman fabriqué par un Grec et publié depuis l'an 330, ſoixante ans, ou environ, aprés la mort de Manichée. *Beauſ. ib. p.* 6.

(g) Il y a quelques veritez, mais en petit nombre, et le peu qu' il y en a eſt alteré, confus, mêlé de fables manifeſtes.—— *id. ib.*

(h) Dés que j'eus lû cette piece, que feu M. Zacagni, bibliothecaire du Vatican, publia le premier toute entiére, j'eus

Time uncertain.

" having got ſome memoirs concerning the " life and opinions of *Mani*, reſolved to " write a hiſtorie of him, and confute his " errours."

I fear, that account of this book is too juſt, and that a large part of it is fiction, of which I may ſay more in the next (A) chapter. At preſent I would chiefly conſider the author, and the time of this work.

As for the author of the book, *Jerome* ſuppoſed it to have been written in Syriac by *Archelaus* himſelf, and then tranſlated into Greek. But he does not name the tranſlator. *Epiphanius (i)* likewiſe, and *(k) Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*, and *(l) Socrates*, aſcribe the book to *Archelaus*. But by *Photius* we are informed, that *(m) Heraclean*, Biſhop of *Chalcedon*, in his book againſt the Manichæans,

j'eus un grand ſoupçon, que la Diſpute de Caſcar, n'étoit qu' une fiction de quelque Grec, qui ayant eu des mémoires touchánt la vie et les dogmes de Manichée, voulut écrire ſon hiſtoire, et refuter ſes erreurs. L'examen changea mes ſoupçons en certitude. *Id in Preface. T. i. p. vi.*

(A) *See the firſt ſection in the next chapter. numb. i. 2.*

(i) ἀπὸ τῆ ἀρχελάυ βιβλίυ. *Epiph. H. 66. n. 32. in. Vid. et n. 21.*

(k) Cat. 6. n. 27. p. 104.

(l) H. E. l. i. c. 22. p. 56. D.

(m) Ηγεμόνιόν τε τὸν [τὰς] ἀρχελάυ πρὸς ἀυτὸν ἀντιλογίας ἀναγράψαντα. *Phot. Cod. 85. p. 204.*

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ans, ſaid, *Hegemonius* wrote the Diſpute of *Archelaus*. This has induced *(n) Cave*, and others, to look upon *Hegemonius*, as the tranſlator. *Zacagni* ſays, that *(o) Hegemonius* not only tranſlated the Syriac, but made additions of his own. To the like purpoſe *(p) Aſſeman*. Both which laſt writers aſcribe ſuch additions and alterations to *Hegemonius*, an author, whoſe age is unknown, as muſt greatly leſſen the authority of this work; more, perhaps, than they imagined. *Time uncertain.*

But *Beauſobre* ſays, that this piece was originally writ in Greek, and that *Hegemonius* was the author, and that it was not writ before the year 330. He argues in this *(q)* manner: "*Euſebe* publiſhed his Eccleſiaſti-" cal Hiſtorie about fifty years after the death

(n) Unde conceptis pene verbis jurare auſim, non alium hujuſce verſionis auctorem fuiſſe quam Hegemonium noſtrum, nec aliam eam, quam quâ Cyrillus, Epiphanius, aliique olim uſi ſunt. *Cav. De Hegemonio, in Diſſ. de Scriptor. incert. aet.*

(o) —— Hegemonium vero, quae ab Archelao jam edita fuerant, meliori non ſolum ordine digeſſiſſe, verum etiam exordio, epilogo, aliiſque nonnullis locupletaſſe, ut omnibus numeris abſoluta, celeberrimae illius diſputationis acta ad poſteros tranſmitterentur. *Zac. Praef. cap. 4. p. iv.*

(p) Quae quum ita ſint, ab eodem Hegemonio videntur quaedam ex illis Actis mutilata, quaedam etiam addita. *Aſſem. Bib. or. T. 3. P. 2. p. 47. in. Vid. quae ibidem praecunt et ſequuntur.*

(q) B. Hiſt. de Manich. T. i. p. 5. 6. p. 145. 146.

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Time uncertain

" of *Mani*. He there ſpeaks of this here-
" ſiarch, and his hereſie. But he ſays not
" one word of his excurſion into the Ro-
" man *Meſopotamia*, nor of his diſputes with
" *Archelaus*. Since *Euſebe* ſays nothing of
" theſe matters, it may be concluded, that
" he was entirely ignorant of them. But it
" is not to be ſuppoſed, that he ſhould
" be ignorant of ſo public an event, that
" had happened half a centurie before: nor
" that he ſhould omit to relate ſo memo-
" rable a thing, if he knew it." *Beauſobre* thinks, that *Archelaus* muſt have been entirely unknown to *Euſebe*. And therefore he concludes, that theſe Acts of *Archelaus* did not appear, untill after *Euſebe* had publiſhed his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorie; that is, in the ſpace of time between the year 326. or 330. and the year 348. or 350. when *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* wrote his Catechetical Diſcourſes, who is the firſt author that has quoted this piece. Nor does it appear, that (r) St. *Ephrem*, who was of *Meſopotamia*, and dyed in 373. has any where taken notice of this Diſputation, though he often ſpeaks of *Mani*. Moreover there is a particular in the book itſelf, which leads him to conclude, it was compoſed

(r) *ib. p.* 146.

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compoſed between the years 330. and 340. This time, ſays *Beauſobre*, is diſtinctly marked in ſome words, which the writer puts into the mouth of *Archelaus*, for convincing *Mani*, that he could not be the promiſed Paraclet. "When *(s)* you ſay you are the Paraclet, "perhaps you little think, that you charge "Chriſt with falſhood: who, though he "promiſed to ſend him ſoon after his reſur-"rection, has not ſent him till above three "hundred years afterwards." Theſe three hundred years come out in the year of our Lord 333. or 334. *Zacagni* ſays, this *(t)* dropped from *Archelaus* in the heat of diſpute: becauſe from the death of Chriſt to the conference at *Caſchar* there were not more than 249. years. But, ſays *(u) Beauſobre*, I think otherwiſe. Nothing is more common, than for impoſtors, who make another ſpeak, not

Time uncertain.

(s) —— dicens ſe eſſe paracletum, qui ab Jeſu praeſignatus eſt mitti, in quo mendacem ignorans fortaſſe aſſeret Jeſum: qui enim dixerat ſe non multo poſt miſſurum eſſe paracletum, inveniter poſt trecentos, et eo amplius annos miſiſſe hunc. *Arch. c.* 27. *p.* 46.

(t) Contentionis aeſtu actus videtur hic dixiſſe Archelaus, poſt trecentos et amplius annos a Chriſti morte Manetem emerſiſſe: nám a Chriſti morte uſque ad habitae cum Manete diſputationis tempus, anni circiter 249. intercedunt. *Zacagn. in not. ad Arch. p.* 46.

(u) Beauſ. ubi ſupr. p. 153.

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Time uncertain.

to remember every thing that is agreeable to the character they have introduced, and to thruſt in themſelves, without thinking of it. *Hegemonius*, who in fact lived more than three hundred years after our Saviour's reſurrection, thought of the time when he himſelf lived, not that of *Archelaus*, who was ſpeaking. So that learned author.

I muſt be here indulged the liberty of making ſome remarks. I readily own, I am inclined to think, with *Beauſobre*, that this work was originally writ in Greek, not in Syriac.

The argument from the ſilence of *Euſebe* is ſpecious. And yet, poſſibly, not concluſive. It is indeed ſtrange, that he ſhould never mention the name of *Archelaus*. Nor do I pretend to confute this argument of *Beauſobre:* For it is almoſt inconceivable, that *Euſebe* ſhould be ignorant of *Archelaus*, if theſe diſputes were real. However, I would not omit any thoughts, which offer, and may tend to bring truth to light. And therefore I obſerve, that though *Archelaus* and theſe Conferences in *Meſopotamia* are never mentioned by *Euſebe*; ſome may ſuſpect, that he had ſeen this book, called the Acts of *Archelaus*. For in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorie,

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torie, when he ſpeaks of *Mani*, and ſo particularly inſiſts *(x)* upon the barbariſm of his language and manners, he may be thought to refer to paſſages in the Acts, which *(y)* reſemble his account. And in his *(z)* Chronicle the appearance of *Mani* is placed in the reign of *Probus*, agreeably to theſe *(a)* Acts. Indeed I do not lay much ſtreſſe upon this laſt particular, becauſe I think, the article concerning *Mani*, in the Chronicle, may be entirely *Jerome*'s, and not *Euſebe*'s. But with *Beauſobre* it ſhould have ſome weight, becauſe he allows, that *(b)* whole paragraph to be *Euſebe*'s.

Time uncertain.

As for the ſpace of *three hundred* years, mentioned in the Acts, it deſerves little conſideration. Arguments from numbers are oftentimes of ſmall moment. Some miſtakes are

(x) βάρβαρος δῆτα τὸν βίον αὐτῷ λόγῳ καὶ τρόπῳ. —— *H. E. l. 7. c. 31.*

(y) Perſa barbare, non Graecorum linguae, non Ægyptiorum, non Romanorum, non ullius alterius linguae ſcientiam habere potuiſti, ſed Chaldaeorum ſolum, quae ne in numerum quidem aliquem ducitur. *Act. Arch. c. 36. p. 63. Et Confer. c. 12. p. 23.*

(z) Secundo anno Probi —— inſana Manichaeorum haereſis in commune humani generis malum exorta. *Euſ. Chr. p. 177.*

(a) c. 27. p. 46.

(b) B. ib. p. 122.

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Time uncertain.

are made by tranſcribers. Writers themſelves are not ſeldom miſtaken in their computations. St. *Chryſoſtom (c)* reckoned it to have been five hundred years from the deſtruction of *Jeruſalem* to his own time, though it was not much above three hundred years. It was to the purpoſe of the perſon, who managed the ſuppoſed diſpute againſt *Mani*, to enhance the time. Moreover people delight in round numbers. And juſt before the time is ſayd to be *(d)* almoſt three hundred years. It is the leſs likely, that the writer ſhould forget himſelf, and put his own time inſtead of that of the ſpeaker's, becauſe he preſently afterwards mentions the reign of *(e) Probus*.

Having given theſe ſentiments of others, and made remarks upon them, I now proceed to obſerve, that the antiquity of this piece is manifeſt from the uſe made of it by *Cyril* and *Epiphanius* in the fourth centurie, and from the notice taken of it by *Jerome* in

(c) Πεντακοσιοστὸν γὰρ λοιπὸν ἐξ ἐκείνου ἐστὶν ἔτος μέχρις ἡμῶν. *Chryſ. adv. Jud. Hom.* 6. *T. i. p.* 651. *B.*

(d) —— eum qui poſt trecentos fere annos venerit. *Arch. n.* 27. *p.* 45.

(e) —— ſub Probo demum Romano Imperatori miſiſti. *ib. p.* 46.

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in his Catalogue, before the end of the ſame centurie. *Time uncertain.*

There are other arguments of it's early age. I ſhall mention ſeveral things, though not all of equal importance.

Archelaus, or whoever is the writer, naming ſeveral heretics, mentions none below *(f)* *Sabellius*. Nor do there any where appear in this book any traces of that remarkable period in the church, the Council of *Nice*. Moreover, the author allots but *(g)* one year to Chriſt's miniſtrie, or at leſt to the moſt public part of it, after he had called his diſciples to attend him. He allows that *(h)* men might attain to virtue by the light of nature, though a few only. He does not extol affected voluntarie poverty, as ſome have done; but *(i)* allows him, who well uſeth a good eſtate, to be equally virtuous with

(f) *Vid. cap.* 37. *et.* 38.

(g) Nec in aliquo remoratus Dominus noſter Jeſus intra unius anni ſpatium languentium multitudines reddidit ſanitati, mortuos luci. *ib. c.* 34. *p.* 58. Cum diſcipuli ejus per annum integrum manſerunt cum eo. *ib. c.* 50. *p.* 93. *m.*

(h) Verum quia pauci per hunc modum poterant ad juſtitiae culmen adſcendere, id eſt, per parentum traditiones, nulla in literis lege conſcripta. *c.* 28. *p.* 48.

(i) Bonum, inquam, his qui poſſunt; ſed abuti divitiis ad opus juſtitiae atque miſericordiae parem gratiam tribuit, [Jeſus,] ac ſi univerſis pariter renuntietur. *c.* 42. *p.* 75.

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Time uncertain.

with him, who gives away all he has. *Tillemont* ſays: "In *(k)* this work we meet "with ſome opinions more common in the "primitive times, than they have been ſince "the hiſtorie and the doctrine of the Church "have been cleared up. The author ſeems "not to underſtand the union of the two "natures in Chriſt." *Beauſobre* has an obſervation of the like kind, and ſays, "that "*(l)* the author ſpeaks more like an Unitarian, than a Catholic." I add, that he ſeems to have condemned all war as unlawful. For *(m)* relating, that ſome Roman ſoldiers, charmed with the piety and generoſity of *Marcellus*, were induced to embrace the Chriſtian religion, he ſays, that they immediatly forſook the profeſſion of arms.

Theſe particulars may be reckoned evidences of great antiquity. But when the book was compoſed, I cannot certainly ſay: whether near the end of the third, or at the

(k) Mem. Ec. T. 4. P. 2. Les Manichéens. Art. 12. p. 796.

(l) Beauſ. ib. p. 116.

(m) At illi [milites] admirati, et amplexi tam immenſam viri pietatem, munificentiamque, —— commoventur, ut plurimi ex ipſis adderentur ad fidem domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti, derelicto militiae cingulo. *Arch. cap. 1. p. 2. Vid. ib. Zacagn. not.* (3.) *et conf. Beauſ. Hiſt. Manich. T. 2. p. 797.*

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the begining of the fourth centurie. Nor am I able to determine, who is the author. *Time uncertain.*

II. My extracts out of it will contain chiefly the author's teſtimonie to the books of the New Teſtament.

1. But I would juſt obſerve, that (*n*) he ſpeaks of divers of our Lord's miracles, and other hiſtorical facts, recorded in the Goſpels. *Goſpels and Epiſtles.*

2. We do not find all the books of the New Teſtament quoted in this piece. It is likely, that there was no particular occaſion for it.

3. He mentions (*o*) the New Teſtament, the Goſpels, and the Apoſtle *Paul*'s Epiſtles: for which not only he, but *Mani* likewiſe had a great regard.

4. Quoting St. *Matthew*'s Goſpel, he calls him (*p*) an Evangeliſt of the Spirit. *Matthew.*

5. A paſ-

(*n*) *Vid. cap.* 34. *p.* 58. *c.* 36. *p.* 63.

(*o*) Sunt etiam alia multa, quae dici poſſent et de apoſtolo Paulo, et de Evangeliis, ex quibus oſtendere poſſumus, veterem legem non eſſe alterius, quam Domini, cujus eſt novum Teſtamentum. *Arch. c.* 45. *p.* 82. *Vid. etiam cap.* 40. *p.* 69. *m.*

(*p*) Sed et Spiritus Evangeliſta Matthaeus [cap. xxiv.] diligenter ſignificavit Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti ſermonem. *Act. Arch. c.* 35. *p.* 61.

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Time uncertain. 5. A paſſage of St. *Mark*'s Goſpel is cited *(q)* as the word of God.

Mark. John. 6. Quoting *John* i. 16. he calls him *(r)* "Saint *John* the greateſt of the Evangeliſts:" if that is not the ſtile of the Latin tranſlator.

Goſpels. 7. Here is mention made of *(s)* the book of the Goſpels.

Acts. 8. The book of the Acts is quoted, and called *(t)* Scripture.

Romans. 9. Divers of St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles are expreſsly quoted. That to the *Romans* is called *(u)* his firſt Epiſtle, becauſe, as I ſuppoſe, it was placed firſt in the collection.

Hebrews. 10. There ſeems to be an expreſſion, borrowed from the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, in *Mani*'s *(x)* letter to *Marcellus*, inſerted in theſe

(q) Quid enim ait ſermo divinus? Quis enim poteſt introire in domum fortis, et diripere vaſa ejus, niſi illo ſit fortior? [Mar. iii. 27.] *ib. c.* 16. *p.* 30.

(r) Sed et ſanctus Joannes maximus Evangeliſtarum ait, gratiam gratia praeſtare, &c. *ib. c.* 45. *p.* 82.

(s) ——ſicut ſcriptum eſt in Evangeliorum libro. *c.* 13. *p.* 24.

(t) Quid enim dicit ſcriptura? Quia unuſquiſque propria ſua lingua audiebat, per Paracletum ſpiritum loquentes apoſtolos? *ib. c.* 36. *p.* 63. *Vid. et cap.* 34. *p.* 59.

(u) Ipſe quoque in prima epiſtola ſua poſuit, dicens. *ib. c.* 34. *p.* 59.

(x) Ἀρχὴν γὰρ, καὶ τέλος, καὶ τὸν τούτων πατέρα τῶν κακῶν ἐπὶ

theſe Acts. And there appears to be a reference to *Hebr.* iii. 3. 5. 6. in ſome words of *(y) Archelaus.* *Time uncertain.*

11. I do not ſee any of the Catholic Epiſtles quoted, except the firſt Epiſtle of St. *John.* *Mani* himſelf is here brought in arguing from *(z)* 1 John v. 19. *The whole world lyes in wickedneſſe*, or in the wicked one, as he underſtands it. *John's 1 Ep.*

12. Antichriſt is here often *(a)* ſpoken of. But there is ſcarce any clear reference to the book of the Revelation. However, it ſhould be obſerved by us, that in the Revelation, ch. xii. 9. Satan is repreſented by the character of the *great dragon.* And in this Diſpute he is ſpoken of *(b)* as "the "dragon, our perpetual enemie." *Revelation.*

13. The

ἐπὶ τὸ θεὸν ἀναφέρεσιν, ὧν τὸ τέλος κατάρας ἐγγύς. *ib. c.* 5. *p.* 7. *Vid. Hebr. vi.* 8.

(y) Ita et ſi Dominus meus Jeſus Chriſtus praecellit in gloria Moyſen, tanquam Dominus famulum, non propterea reſpuenda eſt gloria Moyſi. *Arch. c.* 43. *p.* 77.

(z) Malam vero eſſe tam mundum hunc, quam omnia quae in eo ſunt, —— ſicut ait Joannes, Totus mundus in maligno eſt poſitus, et non in Deo. *cap.* 14. *p.* 26.

(a) Vid. c. 36. *p.* 62. 63.

(b) Credo, quod habeat adjutorem draconem illum, qui nobis ſemper inimicus eſt. *c.* 40. *p.* 69.

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Time uncertain.

Respect for Scripture.

13. The writer's respect for the Scriptures, now commonly received, is manifest from his very numerous and frequent quotations of them, as decisive, and of authority, in all disputed points of religion.

CHAP.

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CHAP. LXIII.

MANI, *and his Followers.*

SECT. I.

A General Hiſtorie of the MANICHEANS.

I. *Paſſages of ancient writers concerning them.* 1. EUSEBE *of Ceſarea.* 2. SOCRATES. 3. LIBANIUS. II. *Authors, who wrote againſt them.* 1. HERACLEAN. 2. ALEXANDER *of Lycopolis.* 3. AUGUSTIN. 4. SERAPION. 5. TITUS *of Boſtra.* 6. DIDYMUS. 7. *Authors, omitted by Fabricius.* 8. *Syrian Authors againſt them.* III. *Though they were in many Places, they were no where numerous.* IV. *Eminent Men among the Manicheans.* 1. ALEXANDER *of Lycopolis.* 2. AUGUSTIN. 3. ADIMANTUS. 4. AGAPIUS.

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PIUS. 5. APTHONIUS. 6. FAUSTUS. 7. HIERAX. 8. SEBASTIAN. 9. SECUNDIN. V. *Their eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution.* VI. *Their Manners vindicated from Aſperſions.* VII. *A brief Account of the Perſecutions, which they ſuffered.*

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I CHOOSE to begin this chapter with a general hiſtorie of *Mani* and the ſect called after his name.

Paſſages of ancient Writers concerning them.

I. In the firſt place I would allege ſome paſſages of ancient writers, who have mentioned them.

Euſebe.

1. *Euſebe*'s article concerning them in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorie is to this purpoſe: "About *(a)* the ſame time that mad man, fitly "named *Manes*, formed the wild hereſie "called after his name, being ſet up for "the ruin of many by Satan the adverſarie "of God. This *(b)* perſon was a barbarian "in

(a) Ἐν τούτῳ καὶ ὁ μανεὶς τὰς φρένας, ἐπώνυμός τε τῆς δαιμονιώσης αἱρέσεως. ——— *Euſ. H. E. l. 7. c. 31.*

(b) Βάρβαρος δ' ἦν τὸν βίον αὐτῷ λόγῳ καὶ τρόπῳ, τήν τε φύσιν δαιμονικός τις ὢν καὶ μανιώδης.' Ἀκόλουθα τούτοις ἐγχειρῶν, χρισὰν ἑαυτὸν μορφάζεσθαι ἐπειρᾶτο τότε μὲν τὸν παράκλητον, καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀναφηνύττων. κ. λ. *ib.*

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" in every reſpect, both in his ſpeech, and " in his manners. As for his (A) diſpoſition, " it was diabolical and furious. For he made " an appearance of being Chriſt himſelf. " Sometimes he gave out, that he was the " Comforter, and the Holy Ghoſt himſelf. " To madneſſe he added exceſſive pride, and " as if he had been Chriſt, he choſe twelve " to be companions with him in his inno- " vation. His ſcheme was patched up of " many falſe and impious hereſies, long " ſince extinct. This venomous principle " was brought into our world, the Roman " Empire, from *Perſia*. From that time " the impious doctrine of the Manicheans " has infected many. Such was the riſe of " that ſcience falſly ſo called."

In this place *Euſebe* appears much out of humour. He is ſcarce maſter of himſelf. Whether his expreſſions are juſt, may perhaps be conſidered hereafter.

In *(c)* his, or *Jerome*'s Chronicle, the riſe

(A) Beauſobre thinks, that here Euſebe has done wrong to Mani, and that his Picture of Mani has little reſemblance. *Hiſt. de Manich. T. i. p.* 108.

(c) Secundo anno Probi, juxta Antiochenos cccxxv. anno juxta Tyrios ccccii. —— inſana Manichaeorum haereſis in commune humani generis malum exorta. *Euſeb. Chron. p.* 177.

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of this ſect is with much particularity diſtinctly fixed at the ſecond year of the Emperour *Probus*, which is the year of Chriſt 277.

This would be a proper place for me to conſider the time of the riſe of Manicheiſm. But being unwilling to render this article, the general hiſtorie of Manicheiſm, too prolix; I ſhall defer it, until I come to give a ſuccinct hiſtorie of *Mani* himſelf.

However I would here obſerve, that I do not remember the Manicheans to be any where elſe mentioned by *Euſebe:* which may be reckoned ſomewhat ſtrange, if in his time they were numerous in any parts of the Roman Empire. In his Commentaries upon the Pſalms, and *Iſaiah*, and elſewhere, he might have had frequent occaſions to confute them. A great number of hereſies, of various kinds, ſome *(d)* reſembling the Manichean principle, are cenſured in the Apologie for *Origen*, writ joyntly by *Pamphilus* and *Euſebe*. If the Manicheans had been well

(d) —— vel ſecundum eos, qui Deum quidem fatentur, non tamen hominem aſſumſiſſe, id eſt, animam corpuſque terrenum, qui ſub ſpecie quaſi amplioris gloriae Jeſu Domino deferendae, omnia quae ab eo geſta ſunt phantaſtice magis quam vere geſta eſſe teſtantur. *Pro Orig. Ap. ap. Hieron. Opp. T. 5. p. 226. m.*

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well known in the Roman Empire, at the begining of the fourth centurie, we might have expected to see them there particularly named, which they are not.

Since writing this, I have observed these words in *Tillemont*, whom nothing escapes. The article concerning the Manicheans in the Chronicle he considers as *Jerome's*. It is only the passage in the Historie, which he reckons *Eusebe's*. Whereupon he *(e)* says: "*Eusebe*, who speaks little of this heresie, "does not precisely mark the time of it. "He seems willing however to have it "thought, that *(f)* it began in the time of "Pope *Felix*, who governed the church, "according to him, from 276. to 281."

Socrates.

2. In the next place I intend to transcribe a long passage of *Socrates*, the Ecclesiastical Historian, who flourished about the year of Christ 440.

"But *(g)* it is an usual thing for cockle "to grow up among good grain. It is "agreeable to envie to lay snares for the "righteous. Not long before the reign of

(e) Note v. sur les Manich. T. iv. P. 2. p. 956.
(f) Vid. Euſ. l. 7. c. 30. 31. p. 283. C.
(g) Socrat. H. E. l. i. c. 22. 55 —— 57.

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" *Conſtantin* there ſprang up a kind of Heathenish Chriſtianity, which mingled itſelf " with the true Chriſtian religion: as here- " tofore falſe prophets aroſe together with " the Prophets, and falſe-apoſtles with the " Apoſtles. For in thoſe days the doctrine " of *Empedocles*, a Heathen Philoſopher, was " clandeſtinly introduced into Chriſtianity. " Of this *Euſebius Pamphilus* has made men- " tion in the ſeventh book of his Eccleſiaſ- " tical Hiſtorie, but without any particularity. " For which reaſon I have judged it not im- " proper to ſupply his omiſſions. Thereby it " may be known, who this *Manichee* was, " and whence he came, who made this " audacious attempt. One *Scythian*, a *Sa- " racen*, married a captive woman, native " of the *Upper Thebais*. Upon her account " he lived in *Egypt*. Having been in- " ſtructed in the learning of the *Egyptians*, " he introduced the doctrine of *Empedocles* " and *Pythagoras* into Chriſtianity; aſſert- " ing *(b)* two natures, one good, the other " evil, as *Empedocles* did; and calling the " evil nature diſcord, the good nature friend- " ſhip.

(b) Δύο φύσεις εἰπὼν, ἀγαθήν τε καὶ πονηρὰν, ὡς καὶ ἐμπεδοκλῆς νεῖκος ὀνομάζων τὴν πονηρὰν, φιλίαν δὲ τὴν ἀγαθήν. *ib. p.* 55. C.

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" ſhip. *Buddas*, formerly named *Terebinth*, " became a diſciple of that *Scythian*. He " travelled into the countrey of *Babylonia*, " which is inhabited by the *Perſians*: where " he told a great many ſtrange ſtories of " himſelf, as, that he was born of a virgin, " and brought up in the mountains. After- " wards he wrote four books, one of which " was entitled, Of Myſteries, another The " Goſpel, a third The Treaſure, and the " fourth Heads. [or Chapters.] While he " was performing ſome of his pretended ſa- " cred rites, he was thrown down by a " ſpirit, and dyed. The woman, at whoſe " houſe he dwelled, buryed him. She com- " ing to the poſſeſſion of his money, bought " a boy ſeven years of age, named (B) *Cu-*

" *bricus*.

(B) *Named Cubricus*.] He is generally ſo called. *Cyril* and *Epiphanius* write the name Κύρικος, as well as *Socrates*. But in the Acts of *Archelaus* his name is writ *Corbicius*. Quae cum ſola eſſet, habere aliquem ad miniſterium voluit, et comparavit ſibi puerum annorum ferme ſeptem, Corbicium nomine, quem ſtatim manumiſit, ac literis erudivit. *Act. Arch. c.* 53. *p.* 97. In the *Hiſtoria Haereſeos Manichaeorum*, publiſhed by *Pfaff*, at the end of *Lactantii Epitome*, p. 183. the name is a little different. ——Puerum ſibi pro ſenectutis ſolatio comparavit, nomine Curbitius, quem et literis non mediocribus erudivit. In former editions of *Auguſtin Mani*'s firſt name is ſayd to have been *Urbicus*. But in

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" *bricus*. This boy ſhe made free, and gave " him a good education. Some time after " this (c) ſhe dyed, leaving the boy all the " eſtate ſhe had by *Terebinth*, and the books " he had writ, according to inſtructions re- " ceived from *Scythian*. *Cubricus*, now free, " and thus enriched, went into *Perſia*: where " he changed his name, calling himſelf *Ma-* " *nes*. There he diſtributed among his ſe- " duced followers the books of *Buddas* or " *Terebinth*, as his own. The contents of " theſe books are in expreſſion Chriſtian, in " ſentiment Heatheniſh. For the impious " *Manichee* directs the worſhip of many " gods, and teaches, that the ſun ought to " be adored. He likewiſe introduces *(i)* fate, " and deſtroys man's free will. He openly " teaches tranſmigration, following herein " the ſentiment of *Empedocles*, *Pythagoras*, " and

in the Benedictin edition that paragraph, at the begining of *Auguſtin*'s article of the Manicheans, [*De Hær. c.* 46] is left out upon the authority of Manuſcripts. *Beauſobre* ſays, none of theſe names have an Oriental air. And he ſuſpects, that the right name is Carcubius. *See Beauſ. T. i. p.* 67.

(c) When that widow dyed, *Cubricus* is ſayd to have been twelve years of age. Quique cum duodecim annorum eſſet effectus, anus illa diem obiit: &c. *ap. Arch. c.* 53. *p.* 97.

(i) Καὶ εἱμαρμένην εἰσάγει, καὶ τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἀναιρεῖ. *Socr. ib. p.* 56, *A.*

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" and the *Egyptians*. He denyes, that *(k)*
" Chriſt had real fleſh, making him a mere
" phantom. He rejects the Law and the
" Prophets, and calls himſelf the Paraclet.
" All which things are contrarie to the ſenſe
" of the orthodox church. Moreover, in
" *(l)* his epiſtles he had the preſumption to
" ſtile himſelf Apoſtle. At length he met
" with the deſerved puniſhment of ſuch an
" impoſture, upon this occaſion. The ſon
" of the King of *Perſia* happened to fall
" ſick. The father, as the ſaying is, left
" no ſtone unturned, being extremely deſi-
" rous to ſave his ſon's life. Having heard
" of *Manichee*, and *(m)* ſuppoſing the ſtrange
" things he had heard of him to be true, he
" ſends for him as an Apoſtle, hoping, that
" by him he might ſave his ſon. When
" he was come, he pretended to undertake
" the

(k) Καὶ τὸν χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ γεγονέναι οὐ βέλεται, φάντασμα αὐτὸν λέγων εἶναι· καὶ νόμον καὶ προφήτας ἀθετεῖ· καὶ ἑαυτὸν ὀνομάζει παράκλητον. *ib. p.* 56. *B.*

(l) Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς καὶ ἀπόστολον ἑαυτὸν ὀνομάζειν ἐτόλμησεν. *ibid.*

(m) μαθών τε περὶ τῦ μανιχαίυ, καὶ τὰς τερατείας αὐτῦ νομίσας εἶναι ἀληθεῖς, ὡς ἀπόστολον μεταπέμπεται, πιστεύσας δι' αὐτῦ σωθήσεσθαι τὸν υἱόν· ὁ δὲ παραγενόμενος μετὰ τῦ ἐπιπλάστυ σχήματος ἐγχειρίζεται τὸν τῦ βασιλέως υἱόν· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἑωρακὼς ὅτι ὁ παῖς ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἐτεθνήκει, κ. λ. *ib. p.* 56. *C.*

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" the cure of the King's ſon. But when " the King ſaw, that his ſon dyed in his " hands, he ſhut him up in priſon, intend- " ing to put him to death. But he made " his eſcape, and came into *Meſopotamia*. " The King of *Perſia* hearing that he was " in thoſe parts ſent after him, got him " apprehended, and flayed him alive. After " which his ſkin was filled with chaff, and " hung up at the gate of the city. This " account is no forgerie of ours. It is col- " lected out of the book of *Archelaus*, " Biſhop of *Caſchar*, a city in *Meſopotamia*, " which we have met with, and read. For " *Archelaus* himſelf ſays, he had diſputed " with him in perſon. And he there relates " the ſeveral particulars, which I have juſt " written concerning him."

Thus I have given the hiſtorie of *Mani* and his principles in the words of this ancient writer, which will ſerve for a text to be commented upon. Once I was ſomewhat deſirous to ſet before my readers in this place St. *Auguſtin*'s article of the Manicheans in his book of hereſies. But it is too abſtruſe and dogmatical: therefore I thought this hiſtorical account preferable. There is another reaſon, which diſcouraged the deſign of tranſlating

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tranſlating *Auguſtin*, and may be ſoon perceived by thoſe who look into him. But though I do not here, nor any where elſe, tranſlate that article of *Auguſtin* entire; I ſhall make good uſe of it, and frequently quote it.

In this paſſage of *Socrates* we ſee a proof of the truth of *Beauſobre*'s obſervation, that *(n)* from the book, called the *Acts of Archelaus*, the ancient Chriſtian writers took the hiſtorie of *Mani*, and of the origin of Manicheiſm, which they have given us. *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*, *Epiphanius*, *Socrates*, the *Greeks* in general, have all drawn from this ſource, as is acknowledged too by *(o) Petavius*, and *(p) Tillemont*.

We have ſeen the account, which *Socrates* gives of the death of *Mani*, taken from the forementioned book: but *Socrates* flouriſhes, when he ſays, that the *King of Perſia, having heard of the ſtrange things ſaid to be*

(n) Beauſ. Hiſt. de Manich. p. 6. *T. i.*

(o) Ex hac Archelai relatione ceteri deinceps hauſerunt omnes, qui haeretici iſtius hiſtoriam et dogmata ſcriptis tradiderunt. *Petav. Animadv. ad. Epiph. p.* 289.

(p) Les petites differences, qui ſe rencontrent entre eux, (ſavoir Epiphane, Cyrille, Socrate;) n'empêchent pas qu' on ne voye, qu' ils ont tous puiſé dans la même ſource. *Tillem. Mem. Ec. T.* 4. *P.* 2. *Art.* 12. *p.* 794.

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be done by Mani, and believing them to be true, ſent for him as an Apoſtle. There is nothing like this in *Archelaus*, whoſe *(q)* words I tranſcribe at the bottom of the page.

That *Mani* was put to death, needs not to be conteſted. It is mentioned by *(r) Alexander of Lycopolis.* The memorie of it was celebrated *(s)* by his followers in an annual feſtivity, obſerved by them with a good deal of pomp and ſplendour. And, as *(t) Beauſobre* ſays, "it is not impoſſible, but the "death of the young Prince may have "brought upon him the diſpleaſure of the "King. But it is certain, that the Eaſtern "writers do aſcribe this diſgrace to his "opinions

(q) Cum ergo illi eſſent profecti, regis filius aegritudine quadam arreptus eſt, quem rex curari deſiderans, edictum propoſuit in vita, [f. invitans;] ſi quis eum curare poſſit, accipere praemium, multo propoſito. Tum iſte —— praeſentiam ſuam Manes exhibet, dicens ſe eſſe puerum curaturum, quae cum audiſſet rex, ſuſcepit eum cum obſequio, ac libenter habuit. Verum —— mortuus eſt puer in manibus ejus, vel potius extinctus. *Arch. c.* 53. *p.* 98.

(r) —— συρατεῦσάι τε σαπάρῳ τῷ πίρσῃ· προσκεύσαντα δέ τι τότῳ ἀπολωλέναι. *Alex. Lyc. p.* 4. *in.*

(s) ——cum veſtrum bema, id eſt, diem quo Manichaeus occiſus eſt, quinque gradibus inſtructo tribunali et pretioſis linteis adornato, ——magnis honoribus proſequamini. *Aug. contr. Ep. Fund. c.* 8.

(t) B. ib. p. 82. 85. 86.

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" opinions in religion: and, if I may ſay " it, to his Chriſtianity, which ſeems to be " better proved." Sect. I.

Indeed, the author of the Diſpute ſeems himſelf to have been aware of ſomething of this kind. For he ſays, that *(u) Mani*, whilſt in priſon, ſent out his diſciples to ſpread abroad his opinions. The King being informed of this ſends orders for putting him to death: but, as he ſays, *Mani* bribing his keepers with a large ſum of money, got out of priſon, and thus eſcaped for the preſent.

Beauſobre has a large number of exceptions to the hiſtorie of *Mani* in the Acts of *Archelaus*'s Diſpute, to whom I refer the reader. I ſhall put down here ſome obſervations, which I have myſelf made in reading thoſe Acts.

Mani was a *Perſian*. But the writer of the Diſpute ſeems little acquainted with *Perſian* affairs. He ſuppoſeth, that *Probus* was the Roman Emperour at the time in which he

(u) His ergo tam ſcelerate compoſitis, mittit et diſcipulos ſuos praedicaturos intrepide fictos ſimulatoſque errores, et novas, falſaſque voces annuntiaturos per loca ſingula. Quod cum rex Perſarum cognoviſſet, digniſ eum ſuppliciis ſubdere parat. Quo Manes agnito, admonitus in ſomnis, elapſus de carcere, in fugam verſus eſt, auro plurimo cuſtodibus corruptis, et manſit in caſtello Arabionis. *Arch. c.* 59. *p.* 69.

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he placeth the Conference. But the King of *Perſia*, ſo often mentioned by that title, is never named. Some may be apt to ſuſpect, he did not certainly know, who was King of *Perſia*, when *Probus* was Emperour: and therefore feared to put down any name, leſt it ſhould be a miſtake, which might afterwards be detected and expoſed. Then the hiſtorie of *Mani* is here related, as if the whole courſe of his affairs happened under one Prince only: whereas learned moderns are now clearly of opinion, that *(x)* thoſe tranſactions were in the time of three or four reigns of ſeveral Kings of *Perſia*. Moreover, this writer ſuppoſeth, that *Mani*, or his teachers and predeceſſors, learned the doctrine of two

(x) Shariſtaui in libro de Religionibus Orientis de eo refert: Mani apparuit tempore Shabur filii Ardeſhir, et occidit eum Behram filius Hormuz, filii Shabur. *Hyde de Relig. V. Perſ. cap.* 21. *p.* 282. *Conf. Horbelot Bib. Orient. V. Mani.*

Mais voici une ignorance, une erreur, qu' on ne ſauroit excuſer. C'eſt d'avoir mis ſous un même regne le cours entier d'une affaire, qui commença ſous l'ayeul, ou le biſayeul, et qui ne s'acheva que ſous le petit-fils, ou l'arrier-petit-fils. *Beauſ. T. i. p.* 128.

Car Sapor, qui regnoit depuis 240. ou 241. mourut vers 271. Hormiſdas ſon fils en 272. et Vararane fils d'Hormiſdas en 276. Ainſi ce ſera Vararane II. fils de celuici, qui aura fait mourir Manichée en 277. ou 278. *Till. Mem. Ec. Les Manichéens Art. vii. in fin.*

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two natures, or two principles, from *Empedocles*, and other *Greeks:* whereas it is much more likely, that he had it from the *(y) Perſians.*

There are many improbabilities in the hiſtorical part of that Diſpute. *Mani* is ſaid to have been impriſoned. But if the King of *Perſia* had been diſpleaſed with him, on account of the death of his ſon; I think he would not have ſent him to priſon, but would have put him to death preſently.

Suppoſing, *Mani* to have been impriſoned by the King of *Perſia*, it is not eaſie to conceive, how he could eſcape, and get to *Caſchar*, or *Carchar*, ſaid to be a city in the Roman *Meſopotamia.*

The writer of the Diſpute ſays, in that city lived a Chriſtian, of great note for wealth and liberality. *Mani* in *Perſia* heard of his fame, and was very deſirous, as *(z)* is related, to make a convert of him, hoping he might by

(y) Graecis Budda Empedoclis opinionem amplexus dicitur, duo rerum pugnantia inter ſe principia ſtatuentis.—— Verum rectius a Perſarum magis accepiſſe videtur. *Hyde ib. p.* 285. ——Verum rectius a Perſis, ſeu Perſarum magis id accepiſſe videtur, qui ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα, καὶ κακὸν δαίμονα, —— ſtatuebant, ut eſt apud Laertium in Proaemio, &c. *Toll. Inſign. Ital. p.* 126. *in not.*

(z) Arch. c. 4. *p.* 5.

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by him gain the whole province. But not chooſing to come to him without ſome previous notice, he deputes one of his diſciples, by name *Turbo*, whom he ſends with a letter to that eminent Chriſtian. This letter is fully inſcribed: *(a)* "*Manichee* to *Marcellus*." But could that be ſafely or prudently done by a man eſcaped out of priſon, and every where ſought by his ſovereign?

The *(b)* meſſenger, who carryes back an anſwer from *Marcellus*, finds *Mani* in a caſtle, named (D) *Arabion*, a *Perſian* fortreſſe, as it ſeems, and upon the frontier. *Mani* thereupon comes in great haſte to *Marcellus* at *Caſchar*: and he *(c)* has in his companie two

(a) Arch. p. 6. *cap.* 5.

(b) Marcellus vero, accito uno ex pueris ſuis, Calliſto nomine, praecipit proficiſci, qui nihil moratus, illico proficiſcitur; et poſt triduum pervenit ad Manem, quem in caſtello quodam Arabionis repperit, atque epiſtolam tradidit. *Arch. c.* 6. *p.* 9.

(D) *Concerning Arabion ſee Tillem. as before. art.* 8. *at the end.*

(c) Eadem autem ipſa die adventavit Manes, adducens ſecum juvenes, et virgines electos ad viginti duo ſimul —— et primo —— ad Marcellum ingreditur ſalutandum. Quo ille viſo admiratus eſt primo habitus indumenta. Habebat enim calciamenti genus, quod quadriſole vulgo appellari ſolet; pallium autem varium, tanquam aerina ſpecie; in manu vero validiſſimum baculum tenebat ex ligno ebelino. Babylonium vero

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two and twenty, or as in another copie, twelve young men and virgins; that is, ſo (*d*) many men who profeſſed virginal chaſtity. And he is himſelf dreſſed very politely, after the *Perſian* manner. How can it be thought, that a perſon under his Prince's diſpleaſure ſhould travel with ſuch attendents?

Moreover, when the Diſputations, in the Roman part of *Meſopotamia*, were over, and he was diſagreeable to the people of *Caſchar* and *Diodoris*, where the conferences were held; he (*e*) returns to *Arabion*, where he is taken up by the King's ſoldiers. But would any man of common ſenſe act in this manner, who was lyable to capital puniſhment for ſuch an offenſe, as is here ſuppoſed?

vero librum portabat ſub ſiniſtra ala. Crura etiam braccis obtexerat colore diverſo, quarum una rufa, alia velut praſini coloris erat. Vultus vero ut ſenis Perſae artificis, et bellorum ducis videbatur. *Arch. c.* 12. *p.* 23.

(*d*) M. de Tillemont a pris ces vierges pour des filles. —— Je ne ſai ſi ceux de ſes diſciples, qui l'accompagnoient, étoient de jeunes hommes; mais je ſuis bien aſſuré, qu' il n'y avoit de jeunes filles avec eux. —— Ces *vierges* et ces *ſaints* ſont les mêmes perſonnes. Auſſi trouve-t-on dans un endroit de la verſion Latine *virginès Electos*, ce qui marque que ce ſont des hommes. *Beauſ. T. i. p.* 93.

(*e*) Sed ille vias, quibus venerat, repetens, tranſito fluvio ad Arabionis caſtellum rediit, ubi poſtea comprehenſus, oblatus eſt regi. *Arch. c.* 55. *p.* 100.

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It is also remarkable, that *Mani*'s letter to *Marcellus*, brought by *Turbo*, begins in this manner: "*Manichee (f)* apostle of Jesus "Christ, and all the saints and virgins with "me, send peace to *Marcellus*."

Upon all which therefore I again observe, that *Mani* is said to have been imprisoned on account of the death of the King of *Persia*'s son. But all the following particulars of his historie represent him not a prisoner, but at full liberty. For *(g)* his three chief disciples, who had been sent out into several parts, return to him, and find him, in prison, as is pretended. From thence he sends them out again, and they return. After which they are again sent abroad by him to propagate his principles. Soon after this he sends the beforementioned letter to *Marcellus* by *Turbo*: which was, as already observed, fully inscribed: and divers people, his followers, called saints, joyn with him in the wish of peace. To this letter he receives an answer from *Marcellus*, whose messenger has no directions of privacie, nor apprehensions of danger from carrying and delivering a letter

(f) ap. Arch. c. 5. p. 6.

(g) For the several following particulars see Arch. c. 53. 54.

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ter to *Mani*. Soon after this he comes to *Marcellus* with a numerous attendence, and is himself properly and richly habited, like a *Persian* High-Priest, or Bishop. Was this man a prisoner? Are these things marks of chains and confinement? Finally, when the disputes in *Mesopotamia* are over, *Mani* returns to *Arabion*, a *Persian* fortresse; that is, he makes the best of his way back again to *Persia*. Which shews, that before he made the excursion into *Mesopotamia*, (if ever he made any;) he was at full liberty. For he leaves the angrie and offended Christians in Roman *Mesopotamia*, and returns to *Persia*, his own countrey, as a place of safety. Since therefore we are well assured, that *Mani* was put to death; we may reckon it probable, that in some short time after his return home, he fell under his Prince's displeasure, and was condemned by him for some cause or other. Nor does any cause of offense appear more likely, than his zeal in propagating some speculative opinions.

The historie of *Turbo* is likewise improbable. This man was a disciple of *Mani*, and had been *(b)* instructed by *Addas*, one

(b) Accitum unum ex discipulis, Turbonem nomine, qui per

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of *Mani*'s chief disciples. Nor is it reasonable to think, that a man should be employed in such an affair, who might not be confided in. But having delivered his master's letter into the hands of *Marcellus*, when he is desired to go back with an answer, he excuseth himself. And a servant of *Marcellus* having been dispatched with the answer, *Turbo* presently (*i*) gives *Marcellus* and *Archelaus*, Bishop of the city, an odious, and perhaps false account of *Mani*'s doctrine.

Archelaus likewise at the end of the Disputes appears to have with him (*k*) one *Sisinnius*, who is supposed to give him particular information concerning *Mani*. But *Sisinnius*, according to (*l*) *Photius*, and (*m*) *Peter of Sicilie*,

per Addam fuerat instructus, tradita epistola, abire jubet, ac perferre Marcello. *Arch. c.* 4. *p.* 5.

(*i*) *Vid. Arch. c.* 6. 7. *et seqq. p.* 9. *&c.*

(*k*) Sed nunc pauciſſime dicere volentem deprecor, ut cum silentio audiatis, ut agnoscatis, qui sit, et unde, et qualis sit iste, qui advenit; sicut Sisinnius quidam, unus ex comitibus ejus indicavit mihi, quem etiam ad testimonium eorum, quae a me dicentur, si placet, vocare paratus sum. Sed ne ipse quidem dicere recusavit eadem quae nos dicimus, praesente Mane. Credidit enim doctrinae nostrae supradictus, sicut et apud me alius Turbo nomine. *Arch. c.* 51. *p.* 94.

(*l*) σισίννιος, ὁ κ᾽ τὸ ἀξίωμα αὐτῆς τῆς δυσεβοῦς διδασκαλίας ἀναδιξάμενος. *Phot. contr. Manich. l. i. c.* 14. *p.* 59.

(*m*) Sisinnius, qui Maneti succeſſit. *Pet. Sic. Hiſt. Manich. ap. B. Patr. T.* 6. *p.* 758. *A.*

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Sicilie, was a chief disciple of *Mani*, and sat in his chair after him, as his successor. However, whether those authors are to be relyed upon as to that particular, or not; it is not reasonable to think, that *Archelaus*, a Catholic Bishop of the Roman *Mesopotamia*, should have with him at one and the same time two disciples and intimates of *Mani*, and both deserters.

Sisinnius is a Greek name. I should be glad to know more of him, if ever there was a Manichean of this name. It might perhaps afford some light for clearing up the time of this piece, which we have been examining.

Libanius.

3. *Valesius* in his notes upon *Socrates* transcribes a passage out of a letter of *Libanius* to *Priscian*, President of *Palestine*: which letter he supposeth to relate to the Manicheans in that province, though they are not named. "These *(n)* men worship the sun, but without bloodie sacrifices, and honor him as a

(n) Οἱ τὸν ἥλιον ἔτοι θεραπεύοντες ἀνευ ἁιματος, καὶ τιμῶντες θεὸν προσηγορίᾳ δευτέρᾳ, καὶ τὴν γαστέρα κολάζοντες, καὶ εν κέρδει ποιέμενοι τὴν τῆς τελευτῆς ἡμέραν. Πολλαχῆ μὲν εἰσὶ τῆς γῆς, πανταχῆ δὲ ὀλίγοι· καὶ ἀδικοῦσι μὲν ὐδένα, λυπῶνται δὲ ὑπ' ἐνίων. *Annot. in Socr. l. i. c. 22. p. 13.*

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"deity in a ſecondarie ſenſe only. They "pinch their belly to a great degree, and "look upon the day of their death as the "day of their deliverance. They are in "many places of the world, but every "where a few only. They injure no man, "but ſome there are who give them trouble."

Authors, who wrote againſt them.

II. That ſuits the Manicheans. They were in many places, but no where numerous. That they were in many parts of the world, may be concluded from the many books publiſhed againſt them. *Fabricius* (o) has a catalogue of ancient authors, who have mentioned the Manicheans, or writ againſt them, amounting to more than forty in number. And yet that catalogue might be greatly enlarged.

Epiphanius in his article of the Manicheans, writ about the year 376. ſpeaking of authors who had written againſt them, nameth (p) *Euſebe* of *Ceſarea*, *Euſebe* of *Emeſa*, *Serapion* of *Thmuis*, *Athanaſius* of *Alexandria*, *George* of *Laodicea*, *Apollinarius* of the ſame place, and *Titus* of *Boſtra*. And he ſays, there

(o) *Bib. Gr. T. V. p.* 289 —— 293.
(p) *Hær.* 66. *n.* 21. *p.* 638.

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there were other authors beſide theſe, who had writ againſt them. Sect. I.

1. *Photius* giving an account of *Heraclean*, Biſhop of *Chalcedon*, whoſe work he much commends, (whoſe time however is not now certainly known,) ſays, that ſpeaking of others who had oppoſed the ſame ſect before him, he names *(q) Hegemonius*, who wrote the Diſputations of *Archelaus* with *Mani*: *Titus*, *George* of *Laodicea*, *Serapion* of *Thmuis*, and *Diodore*, whoſe work againſt the Manicheans conſiſted of five and twenty books. This work of *Diodore* of *Tarſus* is in *Ebedjeſu's (r)* Catalogue, and therefore muſt have been tranſlated into Syriac. And *Photius* in his own work againſt the Manicheans, or Paulicians, mentions *(s)* *Cyril* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, *Epiphanius*, *Titus* of *Boſtra*, *Serapion* of *Thmuis*, *Alexander* of *Lycopolis*, the twenty books of *Heraclean* Biſhop of *Chalcedon*, upon whom he again beſtows great commendations. But we have now nothing of that work remaining, beſide the extracts made by *Photius*. *Heraclean.*

(q) Cod. 85. *p.* 204.
(r) Vid. Aſſem. Bib. Or. T. 3. *P. i. p.* 29.
(s) Ph. contr. Manich. l. i. cap. xi.

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Alexander of Lycopolis.

2. The piece of *Alexander*, juſt mentioned, written in Greek, who was of *Lycus*, a city of *Thebais* in *Egypt*, is ſtill in *(t)* being. *Fabricius* ſuppoſeth, that *(u)* he was at firſt a Heathen and Manichean, afterwards a Catholic Chriſtian. *Cave (x)* thinks, he was originally a Heathen, next a Manichean, in the end a Catholic. He ſays, that he is a very ancient writer, probably of the fourth centurie. *Photius*, as before cited, calls him *(y)* Archbiſhop of *Cyropolis*. But *Beauſobre* argues, that *(z)* he was a mere Heathen, or Pagan Philoſopher, as he calls him. *Tillemont* likewiſe ſays, "that *(a)* by "his book he appears to have been a Pagan "Philoſopher, who obſerving that ſome of "his fellow-diſciples embraced the opinion "of the Manicheans, wrote this piece to "confute it by natural and philoſophical "reaſons.

(t) Ap. Combefiſ. Auct. Nov.

(u) Alexandri Lycopolitae ex Ethnico Manichaei, atque inde ad eccleſiam reducti liber.—— Videtur ſcripſiſſe ſaeculo quarto. *Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. v. p.* 290.

(x) Erat quidem primum cultu Gentilis, deinde ad Manichaeos in Ægyptum recens delatos ſe contulit. Tandem ejurata haereſi, ad Catholicorum caſtra tranſiit. *Cav. Diſſ. de Scriptor. incertae. aetatis.*

(y) Phot. contr. Manich. ubi ſupra.

(z) Beauſ. Hiſt. de Manich. T. i. p. 236.

(a) Tillem. T. iv. Les Manicheens Art. 16. *fin.*

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" reaſons. He ſpeaks with ſome reſpect of " Jeſus Chriſt, and prefers the doctrine of " the churches (they are his own words;) " to that of *Mani*. But it may be per- " ceived by thoſe very places, that he is by " no means a Chriſtian." I do not chooſe to enter at preſent into any debate about the character of this writer. The reader, if he pleaſeth, may conſult the work itſelf, and the modern authors, to whom I have referred. I ſhall only ſay, that the Manicheans were Chriſtians. If ever *Alexander* was a Manichean, he muſt have been a Chriſtian at that time. What he was afterwards, when he wrote againſt them, is another queſtion. Sect. I.

3. I do not think it needful to ſay any thing here particularly of *Auguſtin*, whoſe books however againſt the Manicheans are numerous, and ſtill extant, and will be of great uſe to us, as will appear hereafter. *Caſſiodore* commends *Auguſtin*'s writings *(b)* againſt the Manicheans, as if they were ſuperior to what he had writ againſt other heretics. *Auguſtin.*

4. But

(b) Contra quos ita fervore pietatis incanduit, ut diligentius atque vivacius adverſus eos dixerit, quam contra haereſes alias diſſeruit. *Caſſ. de Inſtitu. D. L. c. i. p.* 510. *T.* 2.

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Sect. I.

Serapion. A. D. 347.

4. But there are two Catholic writers againſt the Manicheans, *Serapion* and *Titus*, of whom I ſhall here give a diſtinct accouut. Their books againſt the Manicheans being their only remaining works, I ſhall write their hiſtorie in this place, and obſerve their teſtimonie to the books of the New Teſtament.

Serapion, mentioned by *(c) Epiphanius* and *(d) Heraclean* among authors, who before them had writ againſt the Manicheans, is placed by *Jerome* in his Catalogue of Eccleſiaſtical Writers, where he ſpeaks of him to this purpoſe: "*Serapion(e)* Biſhop of *Thmuis*, "who for his great capacity was called *Scho-* "*laſticus*, and was much eſteemed by the monk "*Antonie*, publiſhed an excellent book againſt "the Manicheans, another upon the titles of "the Pſalms, and uſeful Epiſtles to divers "perſons. And under the Emperour *Con-* "*ſtantius* he was famous as a Confeſſor."

Cave

(c) H. 66. *c.* 21.

(d) ap. Phot. cod. 85. *p.* 204.

(e) Serapion Thmueos epiſcopus, qui ob elegantiam ingenii cognomen Scholaſtici meruit, charus Antonii monachi, edidit adverſus Manichaeum egregium librum, et de Pſalmorum titulis alium, et ad diverſos utiles epiſtolas. Et ſub Conſtantio principe etiam in confeſſione inclytus fuit. *De V. I. cap.* 99.

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Sect. I.

Serapion. *A. D.* 347.

Cave (f) ſpeaks of *Serapion* at the year 347. about which time he is ſuppoſed to have been made Biſhop of *Thmuis* by *Athanaſius*. *Baſnage*, editor of *Serapion*'s *(g)* book againſt the Manicheans, placeth him at 340. *Cave* ſays, he dyed about the year 358. *Valeſius (h)* ſays, he dyed before the year 359. But *Tillemont*, who thinks *(i)* he was made Biſhop about 349. makes a queſtion, whether *(k)* he was not alive in the year 369. *Socrates (l)* ſays, that about the year 353. *Athanaſius* ſent five Biſhops, and among them *Serapion* of *Thmuis*, to wait upon the Emperour *Conſtantius* in the Weſt.

It has been obſerved by learned men, that *Thmuis* in the *Egyptian* language ſignifyes a goat. The city was ſo called, becauſe that animal was the great object of it's worſhip. *Jerome* ſays as much *(m)* in his Commentarie upon the forty-ſixth chapter of *Iſaiah*.

It

(f) Cav. H. L.

(g) ap. Caniſ. Antiq. Lect. T. i.

(h) Annot. in libr. iv. c. 23. Socr. p. 54. b.

(i) Saint Athanaſ. Art. 66. Mem. Ec. T. 8. P. i. p. 241.

(k) ib. p. 243.

(l) Socrat. H. E. l. 4. c. 9. p. 547. C.

(m) Θμοῦις lingua Aegyptia ab hirco. *In Iſ. T. 3. p. 340. m.*

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Sect. I.

Serapion. A. D. 347.

It is commonly ſaid, that *Serapion* was a great aſcetic, and for a good while lived a mortifyed courſe of life in the deſerts of *Thebais*. *Cave (n)* goes into this ſuppoſition. But *Tillemont* diſputes it. For he ſays, that *(o)* the attainments of learning and eloquence, aſcribed to *Serapion* by *Jerome* and *Sozomen*, are not the things, for which hermits are wont to be commended. Nor do thoſe writers any where ſay, that he ever lived ſuch a courſe of life, though they have mentioned him ſeveral times.

Antonie's reſpect for this Biſhop of *Thmuis* is taken notice of by *(p) Athanaſius*, who alſo himſelf had a great regard for him, and addreſſed *(q)* ſeveral of his works to him in Epiſtles.

In *Sozomen Serapion* has the character *(r)* of a man of admirable piety and eloquence. And his name is in *(s) Jerome*'s letter to *Magnus*. *Socrates* has preſerved a memorable ſaying of our author, taken from *Euagrius*

(n) Vitae inſtituto ἀσκητὴς, inter arctioris diſciplinae cultores diu deſerta Thebaidos habitavit. *Cav. ubi ſupr.*

(o) Note 70. *Sur S. Athan. ubi ſupr. T.* 8. *p.* 1179.

(p) De Vit. S. Anton. p. 856. *n.* 82. *p.* 864. *n.* 91.

(q) Vid. Athan. Opp. p. 340. *&c. p.* 647. *&c.*

(r) ἀνὴρ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα τὸν βίον θεσπέσιος, καὶ λέγειν δεινός. *Sozom. l.* 4. *c.* 9. *p.* 547.

(s) —— et Serapionis confeſſoris. *Hier. Ep.* 83.

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grius of *Pontus*: "The *(t)* angel of the "church at *Thmuis* ſayd: The ſoul that has "drunk in ſpiritual knowledge is compleatly "cleanſed. The parts of the ſoul fretted "with anger are cured by love, and other "evil affections are corrected by temperance."

Serapion. A. D. 347.

No work of *Serapion* remains, beſide his book againſt the Manicheans, which is not very large.

His Teſtimonie to the N. T.

As for his teſtimonie to the books of the New Teſtament, I obſerve briefly, that he has quoted the Goſpels, the *(u)* Acts of the Apoſtles, and divers of St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, particularly that *(x)* to the *Hebrews*, as his. He quotes the Epiſtle to the *Romans (y)* as an oracle, and *(z)* in like manner other parts of ſcripture.

The reader may perhaps here recollect, that *(a)* we formerly ſaw the hiſtorie of another Biſhop of this place, named *Phileas*, who

(t) —— ὅτι ὁ νῆς μὲν πεποκὼς πνευματικὴν γνῶσιν τελέως καθάρεται· ἀγάπη δὲ τὰ φλεγμαίνοντα μόρια τῆ θύμῳ θεραπέυει, πομφὰς δὲ ἐπιθυμίας ἐπιῤῥεύσας ἴσησιν ἐγκράτεια. *ap. Socr. l. 4. c. 23. p. 237. C.*

(u) Serap. contr. Manich. p. 47. f.

(x) ὅταν λέγῃ παῦλος· Πίσει ῥαὰβ ἡ πόρνη ὐ συναπώλετο τοῖς ἀπειθήσασι. *p. 46. m.*

(y) τὰ δὲ λόγια βοῶντα ϗ λέγοντα. *p. 47. ſupr. m.*

(z) ϗ βοῶσιν οἱ λόγοι. *p. 47. infr. m.*

(a) See Vol. 5. p. 344.

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who ſuffered martyrdom in the perſecution, begun by *Diocletian*.

Titus of Boſtra. A. D. 362.

5. I ſhall be obliged to cite *Titus* of *Boſtra* ſeveral times. I therefore here write likewiſe his hiſtorie. Says *Jerome*: "*Titus* "*(b)* Biſhop of *Boſtra* in the time of *Ju-* "*lian* and *Jovian* wrote with great ſtrength "of argument againſt the Manicheans, and "ſome other volumes. He dyed under *Valens*." This laſt mentioned Emperour reigned from 364. to 378. *Titus* is remembered again by *Jerome* in his letter to *Magnus*.

According to *Cave*, *Titus* flouriſhed about 362. and dyed about 371. In *Baſnage*'s edition he is placed, as writing about the year 360. *Tillemont* thinks, that *(c)* he publiſhed his books gainſt the Manicheans in the reign of *Valens*.

Titus fell under the diſpleaſure of *Julian*, of which *Sozomen* has left the following account. "*Julian (d)* ordered the people of "*Boſtra* to expel the Biſhop of that church "by a public decree, and threatened them, "that

(b) Titus Boſtrenus epiſcopus ſub Juliano et Joviano principibus fortes adverſum Manichaeos ſcripſit libros, et nonnulla volumina alia. Moritur autem ſub Valente. *De V. I. c.* 102.

(c) Perſecution de Julien, Art. 25. *Mem. T.* 7. *p.* 669.

(d) Sozom. l. 5. *c.* 15. *p.* 616. *B. C. D.*

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Sect. I.

Titus.
A. D.
362.

" that if any disturbance happened there, " he should impute it to the Bishop and " clergie. *Titus* thereupon sent a letter to " the Emperour, assuring him, that the " Christians were equal in number to the " Greeks; [or Gentils;] that they were very " quiet, and that paying a regard to his ad- " monitions, they had no thought of mak- " ing any disturbance. From those words " *Julian* took occasion to write a letter " to the people of *Bostra*, in order to in- " cense them against *Titus*, as having ac- " cused them, saying: It was not owing " to their own good temper, but to his " exhortations, that they were kept from " sedition." The letter, or rescript of *Julian*, still *(e)* extant, confirms *Sozomen*'s account.

The books of *Titus* against the Manicheans are taken notice of by many ancient authors; as *(f) Epiphanius*, *(g) Theodoret*, *(h) Heracleon*, *(i) Stephen Gobar*, *(k) Photius*: as

(e) Vid. Julian. Opp. T. i. p. 435. *Ep.* 52.
(f) Haer. 66. *c.* 21.
(g) Haer. Fab. l. i. c. 26. *sub fin.*
(h) ap. Phot. cod. 85.
(i) ap. eund. cod. 232. *p.* 896.
(k) Contr. Manich. l. i. cap. xi.

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Sect. I.

Titus. *A. D.* 362.

as alſo by *(l) Trithemius*, beſide *Jerome* above tranſcribed.

We ſtill have three of thoſe books, with the contents of all four. But the fourth and laſt ſeems to be irrecoverably loſt. And there may be reaſon to think, that the three books, which we have, are not compleat, or that ſome parts of them are out of place. It ſeems to me, that ſome words of *(m) Baſnage*, to whom we are indebted for the publication of *Titus* in Greek, afford ground for ſuch a ſuſpicion, though he has taken laudable pains to ſet all right.

Some aſcribe to *Titus* a Commentarie upon St. *Luke*, though it is not diſtinctly mentioned among his works by any ancient author. Learned men therefore are divided in their ſentiments about it. *Baſnage* thinks, that *(n) Titus* wrote ſuch a commentarie, and

(l) De Script. Ec. cap. 72.

(m) Quin imo plurima inverſo ordine turbata intricatiſſima invenimus. Prima fronte periiſſe librum tertium autumabam. —— Sed perlegendo Graeca, apparuit nobis ille liber tertius integer, quem primo libro inſeruerat amanuenſis. Deinde truncatus multis in locis videbatur primus liber. Sed diſcerpta reſarcire, et in genuinum ordinem reſtituere conati ſumus, non modo argumentorum ſeriem ſecuti, ſed etiam propoſito Serapionis ſcopo, quem ipſe delineaverat, ſequentes. *Baſnag. Animadv. ap. Caniſ. Lect. T. i. p.* 58.

(n) Obſervandum eſt igitur, periiſſe Commentarios Titi in Lucam,

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and that there are fragments of it remaining. *Fabricius* is of opinion, that *(o)* the commentarie upon St. *Luke* is the work of ſome other *Titus*, of the ſixth centurie, or later. *Tillemont*, beſide other material things, obſerves, that *(p)* no ancient author makes particular mention of any work of *Titus*, but that againſt the Manicheans: and that the commentarie upon St. *Luke*, which bears his name, has divers marks of a late age.

Sect. I. *Titus.* *A. D.* 362.

I ſhall add here ſome cenſures of learned moderns upon *Titus*, particularly upon that work of his, which we have, and is univerſally received as genuine. Thoſe cenſures may be of uſe to aſſiſt my readers in forming a right judgement of ancient Chriſtian writers.

Says *(q) Tillemont*: "He ſeems to have "followed the dangerous errour aſcribed to "*Origen*, that the pains of the damned, and "even thoſe of the demons themſelves, will "not be eternal."

Lucam, ſed fragmenta tantum, ſive Catenam Graecorum Patrum ſub ejus nomine protrudi. *Baſn. ib. p.* 57.

(o) Commentarius in Lucam ſub Titi nomine editus —— non eſt hujus Titi, ſed ſcriptoris Cyrillo Alexandrino, ac fortaſſe ſaeculo ſexto junioris. &c. *Fabr. Bib. Gr. T.* 8. *p.* 413.

(p) Vid. Tillem. ubi ſupra, p. 670.

(q) Tillem. ubi ſupr. p. 671.

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Sect. I.

Titus. *A. D.* 362.

Du Pin (r) says: "It is surprising, that "*Titus* had not recourse to original sin for "explaining all the difficulties of the Manicheans. It might have served him for a "general solution of almost all their objections. For there is no longer any difficulty "to comprehend, why man is carried to "evil, why he suffers, why he is subject to "hunger, pain, diseases, death, when once "original sin is admitted. Nevertheless he "has made no use of this doctrine to explain these questions, but examines them "like a Philosopher. He has not so much "as mentioned the grace of Jesus Christ, "and he seems to have supposed, that man "can of himself do good as well as evil."

James Basnage, the first editor of *Titus* in Greek and Latin, speaks *(s)* to the like purpose. And indeed it is commonly sayd, that *(t) Augustin* himself in his books against the

(r) Du Pin Bibl. des Aut. Ec. T. 2. p. 128. a Amsterdam.

(s) Non modo siluit de peccato originali, quo facile necessitatem et aequitatem poenarum firmare poterat; sed virtutem a rationis exercitatione hominisque electione pendere absque ulla Christi gratia affirmabat. *Basn. ap. Canis. Lect. T. i. p. 57.*

(t) Libertatem arbitrii tam ad bonum quam ad malum homini lapso tribuit: [Didymus:] nec mirum, omnes enim adversus Manichaeos disputantes, ne Augustino quidem excepto, hanc sententiam propugnaverunt. *Id. ib. p. 199.*

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the Manicheans ſpoke of man's free will, juſt as *Titus* and *Didymus*, and other Greeks did. Sect. I. *Titus. A. D. 362.*

I ought now briefly to obſerve this writer's teſtimonie to the books of the New Teſtament. He frequently quotes the Goſpels, and the Epiſtles of St. *Paul*, particularly that to the *Hebrews*. He quotes *(u)* the firſt words of the Epiſtle, and afterwards in another place, a *(x)* large part of the firſt chapter, expreſsly as *Paul*'s. *Books of the N. T. received by him.* *Paul's Epiſtles.*

In one *(y)* ſhort paragraph he quotes the begining of St. *Matthew*'s and St. *Mark*'s Goſpels, and the ſixth and ſeventh verſes of the firſt chapter of St. *John*, and cites all thoſe ſeveral Evangeliſts by name. *Goſpels.*

Titus likewiſe quotes *(z)* the Acts of the Apoſtles. I ſhall have occaſion to take particular notice of the paſſage hereafter. *Acts.*

He has little or nothing out of the Catholic Epiſtles, or the Apocalypſe. *Catholic Epiſtles.*

(u) Καὶ ὁ παῦλος ϕησὶ —— γράφων μὲν ἐξ ἑβδόμης ὄντως λέγει· Πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως, κ. λ. *Tit. contr. Manich. l. 3. ap. Caniſ. Lect. T. i. p.* 142.

(x) ib. p. 153.

(y) ib. p. 141.

(z) ib. p. 155.

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Sect. I.

I have obſerved in this author theſe general diviſions of Scripture. "The *(a)* Law and "the Prophets:" "the *(b)* Law, the Goſ- "pel, and *Paul*." And preſently afterwards, "the *(c)* Law, our Saviour, and the Apoſtle." Often, "Law *(d)* and Goſpel," for Old and New Teſtament.

Titus. A. D. 362.

General Diviſions.

Reſpect for Scripture.

His reſpect for the Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtament is manifeſt. I need not allege particular paſſages. At the begining of his work he ſays: "We *(e)* learn the "way of truth from the Holy Scriptures, "and the common principles of reaſon."

Didymus. A. D. 370.

6. This is not a proper time or place for me to give a diſtinct account of *Didymus* of *Alexandria*, who flouriſhed about the year 370. though we ſtill have *(f)* a tract againſt the Manicheans, and in it's original Greek language,

(a) Τοσαύτην γὲν ἐπιμέλειαν τῆ νόμε κ) τῶν προφήτων πε- πόιηται ὁ σωτὴρ, κ. λ. *l.* 3. *p.* 140.

(b) Εἶπεν ὁ νόμ@ —— εἶπε τὸ ἐναγγέλιον —— ἐβόησεν ὁ πᾶυλ@.—— *ib. p.* 153. *in.*

(c) Καὶ νενόηται — ἐκ νόμε, κ) σωτῆρ@, κ) ἀποσόλε. *ib. p.* 153.

(d) *Vid. ib. p.* 154. *in.*

(e) Ἀλλ ἀυτὴν τῆς ἀληθείας τὴν ὁδὸν, ἔκτε τῶν ἁγίων γραφῶν, κ) τῶν κοινῶν ἐννοιῶν ἔχοντες. *l. i. p.* 60.

(f) *ap. Baſnag. Caniſ. Lect. p.* 204. *&c.*

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language, which is generally allowed to be *(g)* his. Sect. I.

I ſhall only ſay, that here are no hard names. *Didymus* muſt have been naturally of a mild temper: or the principles of reaſon and religion had ſoftened him, and produced in him gentleneſſe and long-ſuffering. Upon this account, as well as others, this piece deſerves to be commended. This character belongs to ſo few writings in the Manichean controverſie, that one cannot forbear taking notice of it. Moſt other authors with their arguments have mingled bitter invectives, and the harſheſt expreſſions that can be thought of. In ſuch kind of language none have exceeded that polite and orthodox writer *Photius*, Patriarch of *Conſtantinople*. And honeſt *Serapion*, at the begining of his work, naming *Valentin*, and *Marcion*, and ſome other ancient heretics, affirms, "that *(h)* the "Manichean wickedneſſe and abſurdity had "ſo far outgone all other things of the kind, "as to make them appear almoſt innocent."

(g) Vid. Cav. Hiſt. Lit. in Didymo. Baſnag. ap. Caniſ. lect. p. 203. *Tillem. Mem. Ec. T. x. Didyme, Art. iv. in fin. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T.* 8. *p.* 353.

(h) Τελευταῖον δὲ ἐκτρωμα τῆς πονηρίας, πάσας τὰς ἄλλας πονηρίας δευτέρας ἀποδείξασα, ἢ τῷ μανιχάιῳ προῆλθε μανία. κ. λ. *Serap. contr. Manich. p.* 44. *m.*

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Epiphanius (i) calls this the moſt venomous of all hereſies: and to the like purpoſe ſpeaks *(k) Cyril.* However it muſt be owned, that hard names have been given to all ſorts of heretics. Nor is it eaſie to ſay, which is the worſt hereſie. Perhaps men are apt to think that ſo, which they are oppoſing. *Athanaſius (l)* repreſents Arianiſm, as the moſt impious of all hereſies, not excepting the Manicheans: for they and the Valentinians are expreſsly named by him juſt before.

Authors omitted by Fabricius.

7. All theſe beforementioned writers, and others are in *Fabricius.* But I think it not amiſs to take notice here of ſome authors omitted in his Catalogue.

1.) The Anonymous author of *a Hiſtorie of the Hereſie of the Manicheans:* a ſmall piece, publiſhed by Mr. *Pfaff* with the *Epitome of Lactantius.*

2.) The Anonymous author *De Vera Circumciſione,* in the Appendix to St. *Jerome's* works,

(i) Μετὰ τὴν μοχθηρὰν ταύτην, καὶ ἰοβόλον ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν αἵρεσιν καὶ ἐρπετώδη τὸ μάνι, —— θηριολείαν. —— *H.* 97. *n.* 1.

(k) *Vid. Cyr. Cat.* 16. *n.* 9. *p.* 247.

(l) Οἱ δὲ ἀρειανοὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων αἱρέσεών εἰσι τολμηρότεροι, καὶ μιαροτέρας ἑαυτῶν ἀδελφὰς ἀπέδειξαν ἐκείνας, πλέον αὐτῶν δοξάντες. *Ath. Hiſt. Arian. ad Mon. T.* i. *p.* 384. *A.*

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works, more than once oppoſeth the *(m)* Manicheans. A diſtinct account of this piece was given *(n)* formerly.

3.) *Arius* deſerved a place in that Catalogue, if upon no other account, for the ſake of the early mention of the Manichean doctrine concerning *(o)* the Son, in a letter writ before the Council of *Nice*.

4.) Nor has *Fabricius* got *Chryſoſtom*, though that great orator often touches upon this point. *Montfaucon* thought it ſomewhat remarkable, that he did ſo frequently oppoſe this errour: and therefore takes particular notice of it, in *(p)* his prefaces to ſeveral of the volumes of St. *Chryſoſtom*'s works.

5.) St. *Jerome* likewiſe frequently mentions and argues againſt the Manicheans. I ſhall often quote him in writing their hiſtorie.

 6.) *Pelagius*

(m) ——quam [vitam] Manichaei non videntes in carne, Ariani non intelligentes in ſpiritu. —— *ap. Hieron. opp. T. v. p.* 154. *et paſſim.*

(n) See Vol. v. p. 82. 83.

(o) ——διὸ ὡς μανιχαῖος μέρος ὁμοούσιον τῦ πατρὸς τὸ γέννημα ἐισηγήσατο. *ap. Epiph. H.* 69. *c.* 7.

(p) Anomoeorum impietatem ſaepe oppugnat et inſectatur Chryſoſtomus. —— Sed, quod fortaſſe miretur quiſpiam, ſaepius in Manichaeos invehitur. —— Licet enim haec haereſis non tantas turbas daret, quantas haud ita pridem dederant Anomoei, attamen magno illi numero erant, malumque ſerpebat in dies latius. *Praef. ad Chryſ. T.* 7. *n. iii.*

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6.) *Pelagius* in his Commentaries upon St. *Paul*'s Epistles confutes them *(q)* several times.

7.) *Ruffin* upon the Creed distinctly censures the Manicheans, together with divers others called heretics.

8. To all these and others might be added from *Asseman* divers *Syrian* authors.

1.) The *(r) Edessen* Chronicle.

2.) *Ephrem*, placed by *Cave* at the year 370. who in his work against all heresies *(s)* particularly attacked the Manicheans.

3. *Asseman* mentions several others, whose *(t)* names are in the margin.

Nevertheless they were not numerous.

III. All these names of eminet writers upon this point are sufficient to assure us, that there were Manicheans in many parts of

(q) Verum totus hic locus contra Manichaeos facit, ubi dicit, quod evangelium ante sit promissum — et quod Christus secundum carnem ex David stirpe. *Pelag. in Ep. ad Rom. c. i. ver.* 1. 2. *ap. Hieron. opp. T. v. p.* 926. *Vid. et p.* 928. *et* 951.

(r) ap. Asseman. Bib. Or. T. i. p. 393.

(s) Refellit S. Doctor omnes generatim haereses; speciatim autem Bardesanis, Marcionis, et Manichaei. *Assem. ib. p.* 118. *Conf. T.* 3. *P. i. p.* 63.

(t) Hinc adversus eam sectam, praeter Graecos et Latinos patres, Syri complures scripsere; Ephraem, Paulonas, Daniel Rhesinae, Natanael, et Bud Periodeutes, de quibus Sobensis in hoc catalogo. *ib. T.* 3. *P. i. p.* 220.

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Sect. I.

of the world. But it does not appear, that they were any where numerous. This may be perceived from St. *Auguſtin*, who had occaſion to be well acquainted with them. He ſays to them: "You *(u)* are a very few, "and almoſt none at all." And adds, that though good men were ſcarce, there were vaſtly more truly good men among the Catholics, than all the Manicheans, whether good or bad. They ſometimes argued, that they were the few, whom our Lord ſpeaks of, as walking in the narrow way that leads to life. But *Auguſtin* cautions them *(x)* againſt being deceived by ſuch an argument, however ſpecious it might appear. In another place he magnifyes *(y)* the number of the Catholics above the ſmall number of their ſect.

(u) Quid autem inter vos, in tam exiguo et pene nullo numero veſtro, nonne plerique ſunt tales——? Quae tamen paucitas ſanctorum et fidelium—— per ſe ipſam tantam maſſam frumenti facit, ut omnes probos et reprobos veſtros, quos pariter veritas reprobat, incomparabili multitudine ſuperet. *Contr. Fauſt. l.* 20. *c.* 23.

(x) Fuge iſta, obſecro, non te decipiat ſpecies paucitatis, quoniam ipſe Dominus dixit, anguſtam viam eſſe paucorum. *Contr. Secundin. cap.* 26.

(y) —— velitiſque intelligi in tanta veſtra paucitate latere neſcio quos, qui ſua praecepta cuſtodiunt, et in tanta catholicae multitudine non velitis? *De Mor. Manich. cap. ult. fin.*

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Sect. I.

ſect. He ſays, that *(z) Fortunatus*, a Manichean Preſbyter, ſeduced people enough at *Hippo* to induce him to live there a good while: which however, I think, does not lead us to ſuppoſe, that the number of his converts was very great. I need not inſiſt on any more paſſages of *Auguſtin*, where *(a)* he ſpeaks of their ſmall number.

Eminent Manicheans.

IV. *Fabricius* has likewiſe a catalogue *(b)* of the names of Manicheans mentioned by ancient writers. I ſhall take notice of a few only.

Alexander.

1. Here again occurs *Alexander* of *Lycopolis*. Of whom I need not ſay any thing more than I have done.

Auguſtin.

2. *Auguſtin*, a wit of the firſt order, and a principal glorie of the countrey of *Africa*: who was entangled in this opinion, and for about nine years was among the Auditors of the Manicheans, from the nineteenth to

(z) Eodem tempore preſbyterii mei, contra Fortunatum quemdam Manichaeorum preſbyterum diſputavi, qui plurimum temporis apud Hipponem vixerat, ſeduxeratque tam multos, ut propter illos ibi eum delectaret habitare. *Retr. l. 2. c. 14.*

(a) Cum in iſta paucitate magnas patiamini anguſtias, dum a vobis exigitur vel unus ex iis quos electos vocatis, qui praecepta illa cuſtodiat. *De Mor. Ec. Cath. c. 34.*

(b) ap. Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 287——289.

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Sect. I.

to the twenty-eighth or twenty-ninth year of his age: at which time ſuſpicions concerning the truth of their doctrine aroſe in his mind, and encreaſed, until he quite forſook them. Afterwards he wrote againſt them, at ſeveral times, with great applauſe and ſucceſſe.

I have expreſſed myſelf with no greater exactneſſe concerning the time of *Auguſtin*'s being in the Manichean ſcheme, becauſe he himſelf ſpeaks differently. Sometimes his expreſſion is, that he was with them *(c)* almoſt nine years, at another time *(d)* full nine years. Sometimes he ſays, that when the difficulties of their ſcheme perplexed him, he was *(e)* in the twenty-eighth, at other times *(f)* in the twenty-ninth year of his age. Nay

(c) Nam novem ferme anni ſecuti ſunt, quibus ego in illo limo profundi ac tenebris falſitatis,——volutatus ſum. *Confeſſ. l.* 3. *c. xi. n.* 20. Et per annos ferme novem, quibus eos animo vagabundus audivi, nimis extento deſiderio expectabam iſtum Fauſtum. *ib. l.* 5. *c. vi. n.* 10. Quid enim me aliud cogebat, annos fere novem,——homines illos ſequi ac diligenter audire —— ? *De Util. Cred. cap. i. n.* 2.

(d) Novem annos totos magna cura et diligentia vos audivi. *De Mor. Manich. c.* 19. *n.* 68.

(e) Per idem tempus annorum novem, ab undeviceſimo anno ætatis meæ, uſque ad duo detriceſimum ſeducebamur et ſeducebamus. *Confeſſ. l.* 4. *c. i.*

(f) Proloquar in conſpectu Dei mei annum illum undetrigeſimum

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Nay he ſpeaks of his being *(g)* in the thirtieth year of his age, or almoſt thirty years old, before his eyes were opened.

The reaſon of this different way of ſpeaking ſeems to be, that his change was gradual. For the ſpace of nine years, or very near it, from the 19th year of his life, he was entirely *(h)* theirs. In the twenty-eighth, or twenty-ninth year of his age, doubts aroſe in his mind. About the end of which laſt year *(i)* he ſeems to have determined to be no longer a Manichean. In the next year, the thirtieth of his life, when his mother came

trigeſimum aetatis meae. Jam venerat Carthaginem quidam Manichaeorum epiſcopus Fauſtus nomine, &c. *Confeſſ. l.* 5. *c.* 3.

(g) Et ecce jam tricenariam aetatem gerebam, in eodem luto haeſitans,——dum dico, Cras inveniam. Ecce manifeſtum apparebit, et tenebo. Ecce Fauſtus veniet, et exponet omnia. *Confeſſ. l.* 6. *c. xi. n.* 18.

(h) Audite doctos eccleſiae catholicae viros tanta pace animi, et eo voto quo ego vos audivi: nihil opus erit novem annis, quibus me ludificaſtis. Longe omnino, longe breviore tempore, quid interſit inter veritatem vanitatemque cernetis. *De M. E. C. cap.* 18. *n.* 34.

(i) Dubitans de omnibus, atque inter omnia fluctuans, Manichaeos quidem relinquendos eſſe decrevi: non arbitrans eo tempore dubitationis meae in illa ſecta mihi permanendum eſſe.——Statui ergo tamdiu eſſe catechumenus in catholica eccleſia, mihi a parentibus commendata, donec aliquid certi elueeret, quo curſum dirigerem. *Confeſſ. l.* 5. *c. ult. n.* 25.

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came to him at *Milan*, he was only *(k)* not a Manichean. Nay in his 31. year he had not yet *(l)* a clear notion of the origin of moral and natural evil. And it was not till the 33. year of his age, that he was baptiſed.

Whilſt *Auguſtin* was among the Manicheans, he promoted their intereſt conſiderably, and *(m)* brought over divers to the ſame opinion; men of good condition, and bright parts, and ſome of them addicted to a ſtudious courſe of life: as *(n) Alypius*, *(o) Romanianus*, and *(p) Honoratus*.

3. *Adimantus*,

(k) Et invenit me periclitantem quidem graviter deſperatione indagandae veritatis. Sed tamen cum ei indicaſſem, non me quidem jam eſſe Manichaeum, ſed neque catholicum Chriſtianum.—— *ib. l.* 6. *c. i. n.* 1.

(l) Et intendebam ut cernerem quod audiebam, liberum voluntatis arbitrium cauſam eſſe ut male faceremus, et rectum judicium tuum ut pateremur, et eam liquide cernere non valebam. *ib. l.* 7. *c.* 3. *n.* 5.

(m) —— ſeducebamur et ſeducebamus —— et ſectabar iſta atque faciebam cum amicis meis, per me ac mecum deceptis. *Confeſſ. l.* 4. *cap. i. Vid. ib. cap.* 4. *n.* 7.

(n) Et audire me rurſus incipiens, illa mecum ſuperſtitione involutus eſt, amans in Manichaeis oſtentationem continentiae, quam veram et germanam putabat. *Conf. l.* 6. *c.* 7. *n.* 12. *vid. ib. n.* 11.

(o) Ipſa me penitus ab illa ſuperſtitione, in quam te me cum praecipitem dederam, liberavit. *Contr. Academicos, ad Roman. l.* 1. *c. i. n.* 3.

(p) Tu nondum Chriſtianus, qui hortatu meo, cum eos vehementer

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Adimantus.

3. *Adimantus*, ſaid to have been a diſciple of *Mani*, wrote *(q)* a book againſt the Law and the Prophets, endeavoring to ſhew, that the Goſpels and Epiſtles were contrarie to them: or, in other words, the diſagreement between the Old and New Teſtament, and that conſequently the former could not be of God. This book *Auguſtin* confuted in a diſtinct piece, ſtill extant. And he *(r)* elſewhere occaſionally confutes this writer's objections againſt the Old Teſtament.

In another place he ſays, that *(s) Adimantus* was that diſciple of *Manichee*, who was alſo called *Addas*. *Beauſobre (t)* thinks this a miſtake of *Auguſtin*, becauſe the Greek writers diſtinguiſh between *Addas* and *Adimantus*. But perhaps *Auguſtin* had good reaſon

vehementer exſecrareris, vix adductus es, ut audiendi tibi atque explorandi viderentur. —— *De Util. Cred. cap. i. n. 2.*

(q) Eodem tempore venerunt in manus meas quaedam diſputationes Adimanti, qui fuerat Manichaei diſcipulus, quas conſcripſit adverſus legem et prophetas, velut contraria eis evangelica et apoſtolica ſcripta demonſtrare conatus. Huic ego reſpondi. *Aug. Retract. l. i. c. 22.*

(r) Vid. Aug. in Pſalm. Serm. 12. cap. i.

(s) Jam illud aliud quod in eodem codice ſcribi coeperat, Adimanti opus eſt, illius diſcipuli Manichaei, qui praenomine Addas dictus eſt: ubi de utroque Teſtamento velut inter ſe contraria teſtimonia proferuntur verſipelli dolositate. —— *Aug. Contr. Adv. Leg. et Proph. l. 2. cap. ult. n. 41.*

(t) Beauſ. ib. T. i. p. 432. not. (6.)

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ſon for what he ſayd. *Toutée*, the Benedictin editor of St. *Cyril*, aſſents *(u)* to *Auguſtin*: as does *(x)* *Tillemont*, without heſitation. *Cave* ſuppoſed *(y)* *Addas* and *Adimantus* to have been two different perſons. I put his words at the bottom of the page. I ſhall hereafter take ſome farther notice of the names of thoſe who are ſaid to have been diſciples of *Mani*.

Adimantus is much admired by *(z)* *Fauſtus*. He is next in his eſteem to *Mani* himſelf, which *Auguſtin (a)* fails not to obſerve. *Beauſobre* therefore concludes, that *(b)* *Adimantus* was the apoſtle of *Mani*, who planted Manicheiſm in *Africa*. But to me this appears a conjecture without foundation. *Auguſtin*

(u) *Vid. Cyril. Cat. vi. c.* 13. *not.* (ε)

(x) *Mem. T. iv. Les Manich. Art.* 14. *in.*

(y) Diverſus ab Adda noſtro erat Adimantus ille, cujus toties apud Auguſtinum occurrit mentio, quemque ipſe peculiari opere refutavit. In catalogo enim diſcipulorum Manetis, tum apud Petrum Siculum, tum apud formulae Cotelerianae et Tollianae auctorem diſtincte recenſentur, etſi in alia ſententia me olim fuiſſe fateor, et mecum ipſe Auguſtinus. *Cav. H. L. T. i. p.* 145.

(z) ——a doctiſſimo ſcilicet et ſolo nobis poſt beatum patrem noſtrum Manichaeum ſtudendo [al. ſtupendo] Adimanto. *Fauſt. l. i. c.* 2. *ap. Auguſt. T.* 8.

(a) Fauſtus ſic miratur Adimantum, ut ei ſolum praeferat Manichaeum. *Contr. Fauſt. l.* 6. *c.* 6.

(b) *Beauſ. ib. T. i. p.* 433.

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Sect. I. *Adimantus.*

guſtin has *(c)* often mentioned this man, but ſays nothing of that kind of him. He ſays, he *(d)* was a diſciple of *Mani*, and much extolled, as having been an eminent teacher of that ſect: and *(e)* that it was commonly ſayd, he was a follower of *Mani* in his life-time. But he no where intimates, that they gave out, that *Africa* was indebted to *Adimantus* for his preſence, or perſonal inſtructions.

If *Adimantus* and *Addas* be two names of one and the ſame perſon, as *Auguſtin* ſuppoſed; it may be reckoned very probable, that he was a diſciple of *Mani* in his life-time, or however one of the moſt early abettors of his principles afterwards. For according to the Diſpute, aſcribed to *Archelaus*, the three chief diſciples of *Mani* were *(f)* *Thomas*, *Addas* and *Hermas*. In *Cyril* *(g)* their

(c) *Contr. Adimant.* *c.* 12. *n.* 2. *c.* 13. *n.* 1. *et* 4. *et paſſim.*

(d) Quid quod etiam inſultare auſus eſt populo Iſrael Adimantus unus ex diſcipulis Manichaei, quem magnum doctorem illius ſectae fuiſſe commemorant. *Contr. Adim. c.* 12. *n.* 2

(e) Si autem recenſeatis quae contra Fauſtum Manichaeum ſcripſimus, et contra Adimantum, qui Manichaei ſectator cum ille viveret fuiſſe jactatur. —— *Contr. Adv. Leg. et Pr. c.* 12.

(f) Acquiſivit etiam diſcipulos tres, quorum nomina ſunt haec, Thomas, Addas, et Hermas. *Arch. Diſp. c.* 53. *p.* 98.

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Sect. I. *Adimantus.*

(g) their names are *Thomas*, *Baddas*, and *Hermas:* in *Epiphanius (h)* *Thomas*, *Hermias*, *Addas:* in *Theodoret (i)* *Aldas*, (by miſtake of tranſcribers, probably, for *Addas:*) *Thomas*, and *Hermas.* I need not add any more authors.

Whether *Adimantus* be the ſame perſon as *Addas*, or not; it is fit, I ſhould take notice of what *Photius* writes in his extracts out of *Heraclean.* "That *(k)* author ſayd, "that *Diodore* of *Tarſus* in his firſt ſeven "books really argued againſt a work of *Ad-*"*das*, called *Modion*, whilſt he thought he "had been overthrowing *the Living Goſpel* "*of Manichee* himſelf." That title is ſuppoſed to have been taken from Mark iv. 21.

Here then is a book of *Addas.* Was it the ſame with that of *Adimantus*, confuted by *Auguſtin?* We cannot be abſolutly certain. But poſſibly it was. The book uſed in *Africa* might be a Latin tranſlation of the Greek original. And *Addas* might be more

(g) Cat. vi. c. 31. *p.* 107.

(h) Haer. 66. *c. v. et. xii.*

(i) Haer. Fab. l. i. c. 26. *p.* 214. *C.*

(k) ὃς δὲ μὲν τῶν πρώτων βιβλίων ἕπτα τὸ τῆ μανιχάιε ζῶν εὐαγγέλιον ἀνατρέπει· ὁ τυγχάνει δὲ ἐκείνε, ἀλλὰ ἀνατρέπει τὸ ὑπὸ ἀδδᾶ γεγραμμένον, ὁ καλεῖται μόδιον. *Cod.* 85. *p.* 204.

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Sect. I. *Adimantus.*

generally called *Adimantus* by the Latins, as *Mani* himſelf, who for the moſt part is called *Manes* by the Greeks, is generally called *Manichaeus* by the Latins. We ſaw before, that *Adimantus* and his book were much eſteemed by the Manicheans in *Africa*. If what *Heraclean* ſays of *Diodore* of *Tarſus* be true, we have alſo proof of the great regard payd to the book of *Addas* in *Aſia*. It muſt have been common there, and in high eſteem: otherwiſe *Diodore* had not allotted his firſt ſeven books to the confutation of it, and that upon the ſuppoſition of it's being *Mani*'s Goſpel.

Heraclean aſcribes a like miſtake to *(l) Titus* of *Boſtra*. I rather think, that *Titus* was not miſtaken. He knew well enough, whom he argued againſt. But he reckoned it to be one and the ſame thing, to confute the maſter, or a chief diſciple. The objections he anſwered were ſometimes taken from *Mani* himſelf, ſometimes from *Addas*. But he did not judge it needful expreſsly to diſtinguiſh his authors. *Titus* has himſelf more than once intimated, that *(m)* he argued

(l) Phot. Cod. 85.

(m) —— ὡς γε τὰ τῦ μάνεντος συγγράφων φησὶν, —— *Tit.*

ed againſt ſome body, beſide *Mani* himſelf, though he does not name the author. However, here is another proof of the commonneſſe of the book of *Addas*, and of the eſteem it was in. Sect. I. *Adimantus.*

Poſſibly this book was not always fully titled, or inſcribed exactly in the ſame manner. And *Auguſtin*, a Latin in *Africa*, might mean, and have before him the ſame book that was uſed by *Diodore* and *Titus:* though he does not call it the *Modion of Addas*, but *Diſſertations of Adimantus.*

Upon the whole, I think it probable, that *Addas* and *Adimantus* are only two names of one and the ſame perſon: and that the book of *Adimantus*, which, (as appears from *Fauſtus* and *Auguſtin*,) was famous in *Africa*, is the ſame with that of *Addas*, which was uſed by the Manicheans in *Aſia*. In ſhort this book was every where conſidered by that ſect, as one of the beſt books they had. And I wiſh, we had it too.

4. We are indebted to *Photius* for the knowledge of another Manichean writer, named *Agapius*. But his age is uncertain. *Agapius.*

Tit. contr. Manich. l. i. p. 71. infr. m. ——φησὶ δὲ πρὸς λέξιν ἐκεῖνος, ἢ ἕτερός τις τῶν ἀπ' ἐκείνου, ἐπιγράψας τὸ κεφάλαιον περὶ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης τετοπλασίας. *Ib. l. 3. p. 137.*

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Sect. I. *Agapius.*

Photius says, that *(n) Agapius* seems to oppose the errour of *Eunomius*, who flourished about the year 360. But those words need not be understood to mean any more, than *(o)* that his sentiments were different from those of *Eunomius*, insomuch that he seemed to oppose them: as indeed it is allowed, that the Manichean doctrine concerning the Trinity was different from that of the Arians.

However what *Photins* says *(p)* of this writer's confessing a Consubstantial Trinity, and agreeing mightily in expression with the orthodox Christians, may be an argument for his having lived and writ after the *Nicene* Council: forasmuch as it is very common with *Photius*, to find in ecclesiastical authors, who lived before that Council, many forms of expression different from those in use afterwards.

Photius

(n) Μάχεσθαι δ' ἐ δοκεῖ πρὸς τὴν ἐυνομίυ κακοδοξίαν. *Cod.* 179. *p.* 405.

(o) Vid. Cav. Diss. de Scriptor. incert. aet. et Beauf. Hist. de Manich. T. i. p. 434.

(p) Καὶ τριάδα δ' ὁμοούσιον ὁ κατάρατος λέγει μὲν ὁμολογεῖν. *Cod.* 179. *p.* 404. *in.* τὰς μὲν τῶν ἐυσεβῶν λέξεις συνομολογῶν. *ib. infr. p. m.*

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Sect. I. *Agapius.*

Photius ſpeaks of a piece, or, as he is generally underſtood, of two pieces of *(q) Agapius*; one a work of three and twenty books, another conſiſting of a hundred and two chapters, inſcribed to a woman of the ſame ſect, named *Urania*. But perhaps that is a fictitious name, and character. If thoſe books were extant, they would be very curious. It may be collected from the account, which *Photius* gives of them, that they would have furniſhed us with a good knowledge of the Manichean ſcheme. For moſt, if not all their principles, ſeem to have been there treated.

In another work *Photius* reckoning up the twelve diſciples of *Mani*, mentions *(r) Agapius* author of the *Heptalogus*, as does likewiſe *(s) Peter* of *Sicilie*. This book is alſo in the *(t) Anathemaes* againſt the Manicheans, or Form of abjuring Manicheiſm. *Timothie*, Preſbyter of *Conſtantinople*, mentions,

(q) —— ἀγαπίε βιβλίου, λογόδρια περιέχου τρία καὶ εἴκοσι, καὶ ἕτερα κεφάλαια δ' ἥθεν δύο καὶ ἑκατόν. *Cod.* 179. *p.* 401.

(r) —— καὶ ἀγάπιος, ὁ τὴν ἑπτάλογον καλυμένην συντάξας. *Phot. contr. Manich. l. i. c.* 14.

(s) *Pet. Sic. de Manich. ap. B. P. P. T.* 16. *p.* 758. *B.*

(t) *ap. Fabr. Hippolyt. T.* 2. *p.* 203. *et Cotel. not. ad Recogn. Clem. l.* 4. *c.* 27. *et Toll. Inſign. Ital. p.* 142.

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Sect. I.

perhaps by miſtake, the *(u) Heptalogus* of *Alogius*. It is generally ſuppoſed, that *(x)* this is another book of the ſame *Agapius*, who wrote the other two, before-mentioned. If ſo, *Agapius* wrote three books in defenſe of the Manichean principles. Whether this computation be right, I cannot tell. But I can by no means allow, that the placing *Agapius* among the twelve diſciples of *Mani* affords any help for ſettling his age; becauſe I do not admit the authority of the catalogues in *Photius* and *Peter*, and the *Anathemaes*, juſt quoted. The reaſons will be aſſigned hereafter.

Agapius.

Apthonius.

5. *Philoſtorge* tells a ſtorie of *(y) Apthonius* at *Alexandria*, whom he ſpeaks of as a Biſhop of the Manicheans, and a man in great reputation for knowledge and eloquence. *Aetius*, he ſays, had a public diſputation with *Apthonius*, and ſo entirely overcame him, that he dyed of grief ſeven days after. In the catalogues of *Photius* and *Peter* of *Sicilie*, and likewiſe in the Form of abjuring Manicheiſm,

(u) *Vid. Timoth. in Fabr. Cod. Apocr. N. T. T. i. p.* 138. 139. *et Meurſii Var. Divin. p.* 117.

(x) *Vid. Cav. et Beauſ. ubi ſupra.*

(y) Αφθόνιός τις τῆς μανιχαίων αὐσης προεσὼς, καὶ μεγάλην παρὰ πολλοῖς ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ καὶ δεινότητι λόγων φέρων τὴν δόξαν. *Philoſt. l.* 3. *c.* 15. *p.* 487. 488.

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cheiſm, before referred to, is the name of *Apthonius*, and he is ſpoken of as one of *Mani*'s commentators. Sect. I.

6. *Fauſtus* of *Milevi (z)* in *Africa*, publiſhed a volume in defenſe of Manicheiſm, which St. *Auguſtin* anſwered *(a)* in a large work of three and thirty books, always prefixing at the begining of each book a paſſage or ſection of *Fauſtus* himſelf. *Beauſobre (b)* commends this author's manner of writing, and ſuppoſeth, that we have his work entire in *Auguſtin*. So does *(c) Cave*. But I do not perceive that clearly. We have the *(d)* introduction. But I do not ſee any concluſion. *Auguſtin* did not conſider every thing in the book of *Adimantus*, but left a part of it near the end unanſwered, as he *Fauſtus. A. D. 384.*

(z) Fauſtus quidam fuit, gente Afer, civitate Milevitanus, eloquio ſuavis, ingenio callidus, ſecta Manichaeus, ac per hoc nefando errore perverſus. Noveram ipſe hominem.——*Aug. contr. Fauſt. l. i. c.* 1.

(a) Contra Fauſtum Manichaeum —— ſcripſi grande opus, verbis ejus propoſitis reddens reſponſiones meas. Triginta et tres diſputationes ſunt, quas etiam libros cur non dixerim? *Retract. l.* 2. *c.* 7.

(b) Hiſt. de Manich. T. i. p. 224.

(c) In quibus Fauſtum κατὰ πόδας ſequitur, integrumque ejus librum in ſuum opus tranſcripſit. *Hiſt. Lit. T. i. p.* 344. *Oxon.*

(d) Vid. Fauſt. lib. i. ap. Aug. T. 8.

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Sect. I.

Fauſtus. A. D. 384.

acknowledges *(e)* in a work writ long afterwards. *Auguſtin* wrote a book againſt *Mani*'s Epiſtle of the Foundation, but he therein confuted only the begining of that Epiſtle, as he informs us in his *(f)* Retractations. In like manner he may have been obliged by the multitude of affairs upon his hands to break off his anſwer to *Fauſtus*, before he had confuted the whole of his book. It ſeems to me, that *Auguſtin* having followed *Fauſtus* ſtep by ſtep a great way, until he had produced and confuted (*) his furious paſſages concerning the Goſpels, ſuppoſed he might then put an end to his labours. I think, that at the concluſion *Auguſtin* intimates, he had conſidered ſome chapters only of *(g) Fauſtus*.

Of

(e) Quamvis quaedam ſint perpauca in fine ipſius operis Adimanti, quibus non reſpondi; neſcio quibus enim, ut fieri ſolet, incurrentibus, quae magis videbantur urgere, illa interrupta ſic remanſerunt. *Contr. Adv. Leg. et Pr. l. 2. c. 12. n. 41. fin.*

(f) Liber contra epiſtolam Manichaei, quam vocant fundamenti, principia ejus ſola redarguit. *Retr. l. 2. c. 2.*

(*) *Vid. Fauſt. l. 32. et 33. ap. Aug.*

(g) Quapropter poſt omnes Fauſti calumnias refutatas, dumtaxat horum ejus capitulorum, quibus hoc opere quantum Dominus adjuvare dignatus eſt, ſufficienter; ut arbitror, prolixeque reſpondi. &c. *Aug. contr. Fauſt. l. 33. c. 9.*

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Sect. I.

Fauſtus. A. D. 384.

Of this writer *Beauſobre* ſpeaks farther to this purpoſe: "We *(b)* might expect in this "work of *Fauſtus* pure and genuine Mani- "cheiſm. But beſide that the *African* ſect "was one of the moſt abſurd and heretical "among them, *Fauſtus* treats but a ſmall "number of queſtions." But, as before ſayd, perhaps we have not his piece entire. And here again our deſires may be raiſed for the works of *Agapius*, which ſeem to have been more full and copious. However I ſhall be able to make good uſe of the work of *Fauſtus*, for ſhewing the Manichean ſentiments concerning the Scriptures, and other matters.

Auguſtin inſinuates, that *(i) Fauſtus* was at firſt very poor, but that he lived well, and ſomewhat delicatly among the Manicheans: notwithſtanding the ſtrict rules, by which all the Elect were bound to govern themſelves. *Auguſtin* calls him *(k)* Biſhop. He ſpeaks of the

(b) ib. p. 224.

(i) Et quia in mattis dormiunt, mattarii appellantur: a quorum ſtratis longe diſſimiles fuerunt plumae Fauſti, et caprinae lodices; qua deliciarum affluentia non ſolum mattarios faſtidiebat, ſed etiam domum patris ſui hominis pauperis Milevitani, *Contr. Fauſt. l. xx. c.* 5.

(k) Jam venerat Carthaginem quidam Manichaeorum epiſcopus Fauſtus nomine, magnus laqueus diaboli, et multi implicabantur in eo per illecebram ſuaviloquentiae, quam ego tametſi laudabam, &c. *Confeſſ. l.* 5. *c.* 3. *n.* 3.

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Sect. I.

Fauſtus.
A. D. 384.

the great eſteem, which *Fauſtus* was in among that people: but ſays, that *(l)* excepting his eloquence, there was little in him extraordinarie: and that he was no more able than their other teachers, to remove the difficulties in the Manichean ſcheme, which he then began to be ſenſible of. However, *Auguſtin (m)* has often commended *Fauſtus*'s agreeable manner of ſpeaking. And *(n)* owns, that he was well qualifyed to make converts, and that he ſeduced many. He muſt have excelled in the art of ſpeaking: or *Auguſtin (o)* had not given him the preference in that reſpect to *Ambroſe*, the famous Biſhop of *Milan*, who had more learning, and was a good ſpeaker likewiſe. *Fauſtus* and other

(l) —— quae mihi cunctatio in dies major oboriebatur, ex quo illum hominem, cujus nobis adventus, ut noſti, ad explicanda omnia, quae nos movebant, quaſi de coelo promittebatur, audivi, eumque excepta quadam eloquentia talem qualem ceteros cognovi. *De Util. Cred. c.* 8. *n.* 20.

(m) Ergo ubi venit, expertus ſum hominem gratum et jucundum verbis, et ea quae illi ſolent dicere multo ſuavius garrientem. *Confeſſ. l.* 5. *c.* 6. *n.* 10.

(n) Vid. ſupr. not. (k)

(o) Et delectabar ſuavitate ſermonis, quamquam eruditionis, minus tamen hilareſcentis atque mulcentis quam Fauſti erat, quod adtinet ad dicendi modum: ceterum rerum ipſarum nulla comparatio. *Confeſſ. l.* 5. *c.* 13. *n.* 23.

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Sect. I.

Fauſtus.

A. D. 384.

other Manicheans *(p)* were baniſhed into ſome iſland by the Roman Proconſul. But it was not long, before they were releaſed. *Tillemont (q)* ſuppoſeth this to have happened in the year 386.

I cannot tell how it came to paſs, that in *Fabricius* it is ſayd *(r) Auguſtin* heard *Fauſtus* nine years: when *Auguſtin* in the place referred to, and elſewhere, aſſures us, that it was not till the ninth year of his being in the Manichean ſentiments, that *Fauſtus* came to *Carthage.*

Fauſtus is ſpoken of by *(s) Cave,* as flouriſhing at the year 400. But that is placing him too late. *Auguſtin* forſook the Manicheans before he was quite thirty years of age. He became acquainted with *Fauſtus* in his twenty-eighth, or twenty-ninth year. At which time he ſpeaks of *Fauſtus,* as a Biſhop, and very famous in his party. If *Auguſtin* was born in 354. *Fauſtus* muſt have come to *Carthage,* and their acquaintance muſt have

(p) Fauſtus autem convictus vel confeſſus quod Manichaeus eſſet cum aliis nonnullis ſecum ad judicium proconſulare perductis, —— in inſulam relegatus eſt. *Contr. Fauſt. l.* 5. *c.* 8.

(q) St. Auguſtin Art. 18. *Mem. T.* 13. *p.* 43.

(r) —— et novem annos a ſe auditum teſtatur. Conf. l. 5. c. 6. *Fabric. Bib. Gr. T. v. p.* 288.

(s) Hiſt. Lit. T. i. p. 344.

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Sect. I.

Fauſtus. A. D. 384.

have begun in 382. or *(t)* 383. *Auguſtin*'s book againſt *Fauſtus* ſeems not to have been writ, till about the year 400. But the book of *Fauſtus* might be writ a good while before, and he himſelf dead: as indeed I ſuſpect he was from *Auguſtin*'s manner of writing *(u)* at the begining of his work, and elſewhere. However I willingly place *Fauſtus* at the year 384. though, according to the preceding argument, that is rather too late.

Hierax. A. D. 302.

7. *Hierax* is reckoned among Manichean writers by *(x) Fabricius*, and *Beauſobre*. This laſt writer ſpeaks of him in this manner. "He *(y)* was an *Egyptian*, a native of *Leon-*"*topolis*, well ſkilled in the learning of the "*Greeks* and *Egyptians*. He was not one "of thoſe extravagant Manicheans, that re-"viled the Law and the Prophets:" and a great deal more, which I need not tranſcribe.

But,

(t) Nam annum aetatis viceſimum nonum egit Carthagine cum Fauſto. Libro enim 6. Confeſſionum cap. xi. ſcribit: Et ecce jam tricenariam aetatem gerebam. —— Erat tunc annus Chriſti trecenteſimus octogeſimus tertius. *Pagi in Baron. Ann.* 377. *n. iii.*

(u) Fauſtus quidem fuit gente Afer.——Noveram ipſe hominem, quemadmodum eum commemoravi in libris Confeſſionum mearum. *Contr. Fauſt. l. i. c.* 1.

(x) Bib. Gr. T. 5. *p.* 288.

(y) Hiſt. de Manich. T. i. p. 430. 431.

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Hierax. A. D. 302.

But, with ſubmiſſion, I ſee no reaſon to call *Hierax*, or *Hieracas*, a Manichean. That ſuppoſition depends upon the authority *(z)* of *Photius*, and *Peter* of *Sicilie*, and the *Anathemaes*, or Form of abjuring Manicheiſm, before taken notice of: where *Hierax* is named among the diſciples and commentators of *Mani*. But they are all ſo late, that their teſtimonie is of no weight againſt other evidence. For *Photius* and *Peter* are writers of the ninth centurie. And in their writings againſt the Manicheans they ſo agree, that it is *(a)* reckoned, one copyed the other: but which is the original, is hard to ſay. And the *Anathemaes*, as given us by *Cotelerius* and *Tollius*, plainly appear not to be of an earlyer age. The compoſer of that Form was acquainted with the *Paulicians*, and muſt have borrowed from *Photius*, or *Peter*, or both. In *Tollius* it is entitled *(b) A Form of receiving thoſe who are converted from the hereſie of the Manicheans and Paulicians to the true faith.* *Beauſobre* himſelf has ſomewhere well obſerved

(z). See Beauſ. p. 430. *not.* (6.)

(a) Quae dum memoro, non poſſum non ſignificare dubitationem, quam in notis profeſſus ſum, et in qua me adhuc haerere fateor, uter ſcilicet horum alterum in ſcribendo imitatus videatur. *Wolff. Praef. ad Phot. contr. Manich. p.* 6.

(b) ap. Toll. Inſign. Ital. p. 126.

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Hierax. *A. D.* 302.

obſerved upon another occaſion, that things are not to be received upon the credit of pieces of ſo late age.

Hierax has a great character in *(c) Epiphanius* for learning and piety. Nevertheleſs he had, it ſeems, ſome errours, which induced *Epiphanius* to conſider him as an heretic. But he does not call him a follower of *Mani*. He makes a diſtinct hereſie of his opinions. And in like manner *(d) Auguſtin*, *(e) John Damaſcen*, and *(f) Praedeſtinatus*. Nor do any of them inſinuate, that he borrowed any thing from *Mani*. And all of them, except *Auguſtin*, (who has entirely omitted their ſentiments concerning the Scriptures,) expreſsly ſay, that the *Hieracites* received the Old and New Teſtament; particularly *Epiphanius*, briefly in his *(g) Synopſis*, and more largely in his *(h) Panarium*. The only ancient that I know of, who ſays, the *Hieracites* rejected the Old Teſtament, is the Anonymous author *(i)* againſt all hereſies, among

(c) Haer. 67. *n.* 1.

(d) De Haer. c. 47.

(e) χρώμενοι δὲ παλαιᾷ καὶ νέᾳ διαθήκῃ. *Dam. de Haereſ. n.* 67. *ap. Cot. Monum. Gr. T. i. p.* 297.

(f) Praedeſt. i. n. 47.

(g) Vid. Epiph. T. i. p. 605. *T. ii. p.* 147.

(h) Haer. 67. *n.* 1.

(i) ap. Athan. T. 2. *p.* 235. *D. Ed. Bened.*

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among the works of *Athanaſius*. Nor are they any where charged with holding two principles. *Philaſter* and *Theodoret* have nothing about them.

Hierax, it is true, is ſaid to have denyed the reſurrection of the body, and *(k)* to have expected only a ſpiritual reſurrection. But it does not appear, that he took that opinion from *Mani*. *Epiphanius* expreſsly ſays, he ſuppoſeth, that *Hierax* learned it of *Origen*, or formed it out of his own (E) head.

In

(k) ——πνευματικὴν δὲ τὴν ἀνάςασιν φάσκει. κ. λ. *Epiph. H.* 67. *n.* 1.

(E) *Beauſobre* is pleaſed to ſay, (T. i. p. 431.) "What "we know of his ſentiments is, that he denyed the reſur- "rection of the body; that he did not believe, that Jeſus "had a true human body; and that he admitted three prin- "ciples of all things, God, Matter, and Malice." But theſe things are not in *Epiphanius*. *Beauſobre* here builds upon a paſſage of a writer of the ſeventh or eighth centurie: De Hieracitis locus inſignis Joannis Carpathi epiſcopi, ex MS. opere de Anachoretis, productus a Cangio in Appendice ad Gloſſarium Graecum: —— ὅιτινες λέγουσι, μὴ ἀνθρώπινον σῶμα ἀνειληφέναι τὸν σωτῆρα, μήτε ἐγείρεσθαι τὸ ἡμέτερον σῶμα ὁ περικείμεθα· ϗ ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν ἀρχαὶ, θεὸς ϗ ὕλη ϗ κακία. *ap. Fabric. Bib. Gr. T.* 8. *p.* 333. I need to ſay no more, than that this is not an authentic account of the principles of *Hierax* the *Egyptian*, mentioned by *Epiphanius*, and other ancient writers. If there ever were people called *Hieracites*, who held theſe notions, there is no reaſon to think they borrowed them from him.

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Hierax. A. D. 302.

In the letter of *Arius* to *Alexander*, as we have it in *(l) Epiphanius*, and *(m) Athanasius*, in Greek, and in *(n) Hilarie*, in Latin, divers opinions concerning the Son are repreſented; that of *Mani*, *Sabellius*, and *Hierax*, all as different from each other.

If *Hierax* had been a Manichean, it would be very ſtrange, that *(o)* great numbers of the *Egyptian* Monks, or Aſcetics, ſhould admire and follow him, as *Epiphanius* ſays they did.

Finally, there is no notice taken of *Hierax*, as a diſciple of *Mani*, in the Diſputation of *Archelaus*, nor in St. *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*, no more than in *Epiphanius*.

I conclude therefore, there is no reaſon to think, that *Hierax*, whoſe opinions make a diſtinct hereſie in *Epiphanius*, was a Manichean. If *Photius*, or *Peter* of *Sicilie*, knew any one of that name, who was a Manichean; he muſt have been different from him mentioned by *Epiphanius*, and other ancient writers.

(l) Haer. 69. *n.* 7. *p.* 732. *D.*

(m) Ath. de Synod. T. i. p. 729. *E.*

(n) —— nec ſicut Manichaeus partem unius ſubſtantiae Patris natum expoſuit; nec ſicut Sabellius, —— nec ſicut Hieracas, lucernam de lucerna, vel lampadem in duas partes. *Hilar. de Trin. l.* 4. *p.* 833. *Vid. et l.* 6. *p.* 881. *et. p.* 885. *D. E.*

(o) ἀυτίκα πολλοὶ τῶν ἀσκητῶν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀυτῷ συναπήχθησαν. *Haer.* 67. *c. i. p.* 710. *A.*

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ters. And probably he was no very early or ancient follower of *Mani*. But I rather think, that they knew not any ſuch perſon; but have miſtaken the character of *Hierax*, of whom *Epiphanius* writes.

Let it not be thought to no purpoſe, that I have ſayd ſo much to ſhew, that *Hierax* was not a Manichean. *Beauſobre* in ſeveral parts of his work has divers arguments, built upon the ſuppoſition, that *Hierax* was in the Manichean ſcheme. All which reaſonings therefore now fall to the ground. Nor can we in any caſe judge of the Manichean ſentiments by thoſe of *Hierax*. For he was not of that ſect, nor had he any concern with it.

Hierax is placed by *(p) Cave* at 302, who takes his account from *Epiphanius*, and ſays nothing of his being a Manichean. *Tillemont (q)* has written a hiſtorie of the *Hieracites*. He ſays, that this hereſie aroſe after that of the Manicheans, about the year 290. or 300. But he does not charge the author of it with holding the Manichean doctrine.

According to *Epiphanius*, *Hierax*, notwithſtanding his errours, was a very extraordinarie

(p) Hiſt. Lit. T. i. p. 161.
(q) Mem. T. iv. P. 2. p. 817. *&c.*

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dinarie perſon. He was ſkilful *(r)* in medicine, was a man of *(s)* great acuteneſſe, and *(t)* of a ſtrict, and unblemiſhed life, for which he was much reſpected. He *(u)* had the Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtament by heart, and wrote commentaries upon them, in particular a *(x)* Diſſertation upon the creation of the world in ſix days. He likewiſe compoſed *(y)* hymns. He was *(z)* acquainted with the *Greek* and *Egyptian* learning, and *(a)* wrote in both languages. He lived to a great age, being, as *(b)* ſome ſay, upwards of ninety years old, when he dyed. He

(r) —— ἰατροσοφιστικὴ τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις. *Epiph. Haer.* 67. *cap. i.*

(s) —— ὀξὺς κατὰ πάντα τρόπον. *ib. p.* 709. *D.*

(t) —— ἦν δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἔκπληκτος τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀσκήσει. *ib. p.* 710. *A.* —— ὁ δὲ ἱέρακας αὐτὸς τῷ μὲν ὄντι πολλὴν εἶχε τὴν ἄσκησιν. *ib. n.* 3. *p.* 712. *C.*

(u) δυτῶ μὲν γὰρ παλαιὰν καὶ καινὴν διαθήκην σαφῶς εἰπεῖν ἀποσηθίζων, καὶ εἰς αὐτὰ ἐξηγησάμενος. *ib. n. i. p.* 709. *D.*

(x) Συνεγράψατο δὲ ἑλληνικῶς τε καὶ αἰγυπτιακῶς ἐξηγησάμενος, καὶ συντάξας τῆς ἑξαημέρου μύθους τινὰς πλασάμενος. κ. λ. *ib. n.* 3. *p.* 712. *B.*

(y) ψαλμούς τε πολλοὺς νεωτερικοὺς ἐπλάσατο. *ib.*

(z) τοῖς τῶν αἰγυπτίων καὶ ἑλλήνων μαθήμασιν ἀκριβῶς ἐπισάς. *ib. n. i. p.* 709. *C. Vid. et. B.*

(a) Vid. ſupra not. (x)

(b) Φασὶ δέ τινες περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι ὑπὲρ ἐννενήκοντα ἔτη βιώσας, ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἧς ἐτελεύτα ἐκαλλιγράφει· καλλιγράφος γὰρ ἦν· ἔμενε γὰρ αὐτοῦ συνεσὼς ὁ ὀφθαλμός. *Haer.* 67. *c.* 3. *p.* 712. *C.*

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Hierax. A. D. 302.

He retained his eye-ſight to the laſt, uſing no amanuenſis, but writing out his own works, and tranſcribing likewiſe the works of others in a fair hand.

Such a character of this *Egyptian* Chriſtian may well induce us to form a wiſh for ſome of his works: though, as may be collected from *Epiphanius*, his *(c)* interpretations of Scripture were ſomewhat allegorical.

Scriptures received by him.

As all ancient writers in general, who make mention of *Hierax*, ſay, he received the Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtament; it may be concluded, that his canon was much the ſame with that of other Chriſtians in the place where he lived. In particular, we plainly perceive from *Epiphanius*, that *(d)* he received the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, as the Apoſtle *Paul*'s. And, if *Epiphanius* be not miſtaken, he *(e)* likewiſe made uſe of a book entitled the *Anabaticon*, or *Aſcenſion of Iſaias*.

Sebaſtian. A. D. 356.

8. *Sebaſtian*, a Manichean, then a young man, was General in *Egypt*, in the reign of *Conſtantius* about the year 356. and afterwards

(c) Καὶ συντάξας τῆς ἑξαημέρου μύθους τινὰς πλασάμενος, ἢ κομπάδεις ἀλληγορίας. *ib. B.*

(d) *Vid. Epiph. ib. n. 2. 3. 6. 7.*

(e) *ib. n. 3. p. 712. A.*

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wards was in high offices under ſeveral Emperours. *Athanaſius (f)* complains of him more than once. He is mentioned ſeveral times by *(g) Zoſimus*, and *(h) Ammianus Marcellinus*. A note *(i)* of *Valeſius* upon the laſt mentioned writer contains a brief hiſtorie and character of *Sebaſtian*, and ſhews particularly his acquaintance with *Libanius*.

Sebaſtian. A. D. 356.

Secundin. A. D. 406.

9. *Secundin*, an *(k)* Auditor among the Manicheans, wrote a letter to *Auguſtin*, which

(f) —— παροξύνει τὸν στρατηλάτην σεβαστιανὸν, μανιχαῖον ὄντα, κ. λ. *Ath. Ap. pro fuga ſua. n.* 6. *p.* 323. *C.* Ἔχοντες δὲ ὑπεργὸς εἰς τὴν πονηρίαν τὸν δεῦρο σεβαστιανὸν, μανιχαῖον ὄντα, ᾗ δοκεῖ νεώτερον. *Id. in Hiſtor. Arian. ad Monach. p.* 379. *f. Vid. eund. ib. p.* 381. *C.* 387. *A. B. C.*

(g) Zoſim. Hiſt. l. 3. *p.* 714. *l.* 4. 749.

(h) —— triginta millia —— commiſit Procopio, juncto ad parilem poteſtatem Sebaſtiano comite ex duce Aegypti. *Amm. Marcell. l.* 23. *c.* 3. *p.* 385. *Vid. eund. l.* 31. *c.* 13. *f. et paſſim.*

(i) Is eſt igitur Sebaſtianus dux Ægypti, ſecta Manichaeus. —— Erat autem filius Antiphili, a quo in diſciplinam traditus Libanio, mox relicto eloquentiae ſtudio ad militiam ſe contulit, tametſi excellenti ingenio praeditus: ut docet Libanius in epiſtolis duabus ad Antiphilum, quibus et aliam ſubjungit ad Sebaſtianum, exhortans ut redeat. Exſtant in editione Cracovienſi lat. Libanius 308. 340. 494. epiſtolas ad eum ſcribit. *Valeſ. not. (h) p.* 385.

(k) Secundinus quidam, non ex eis quos Manichaei electos, ſed ex eis quos auditores vocant, quem nec facie quidem noveram, ſcripſit ad me velut amicus, honorifice objurgans, quod oppugnarem literis illam haereſim, et admonens ne facerem. *Aug. Retr. l.* 2. *c.* x.

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Secundin. *A. D.* 406.

which we ſtill have in that ancient writer's works, together with his own anſwer.

Cave placeth *Secundin* at the year 390. He *(l)* conjectures that he was of *Africa*, and ſpeaks of his being an old friend and intimate acquaintance of *Auguſtin*. But herein that learned and laborious writer has made ſeveral miſtakes. For *Secundin* was a perfect ſtranger. *Auguſtin (m)* had not any perſonal knowledge of him. Nor was *Secundin* an *African*, but *(n)* a *Roman*, as he himſelf plainly intimates. If he had been an *African*, he would not have reproached *Auguſtin (o)* with the faithleſſneſſe of that countrey, in deſerting the Manicheans. *Tillemont (p)* mentions divers other reaſons for thinking, that

(l) Secundinus natione, ni fallor, Afer, ſecta Manichaeus, claruit circa ann. 390, certe poſt Auguſtini ad eccleſiam reditum.——Magna illi cum Auguſtino interceſſerat familiaritas, dum uterque in haereſi Manichaica verſaretur. —— Objicit Punicae gentis perfidiam. *Cav. Hiſt. Lit. T. i. p.* 286.

(m) Vid. not. (*k*)

(n) Legit enim aliquanta exile meum et qualecunque Romani hominis ingenium, reverendae tuae dignationis ſcripta, in quibus ſic iraſceris veritati, ut philoſophiae Hortenſius. *Secund. ad Aug. n.* 3.

(o) Muta quaeſo ſententiam, depone Punicae gentis perfidiam, &c. *ib. n.* 2.

(p) St. Auguſtin Art. 168. *Mem. T.* 13. *p.* 450. *a Paris.*

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Secundin. A. D. 406.

Secundin lived at *Rome*, or ſome where in *Italie*. Nor was this letter writ ſo ſoon as the year 390. It is probable, that *Auguſtin* would not long delay to anſwer it. But in his Retractations he ſpeaks of his anſwer after his books againſt *Fauſtus*, and after the diſputes held with *Felix* in the year 404. and after another book againſt the Manicheans, entitled *De Natura Boni*. The character too, which *Auguſtin* himſelf gives of his anſwer, as *(q)* the beſt of all his books againſt the Manicheans, leads us to ſuppoſe it was one of his laſt works, written in that controverſie. In a word, the order, in which this book is placed, and the manner in which *Auguſtin* ſpeaks of it, may induce us to think, it was not writ before 405. or 406.

Their eccleſiaſtical conſtitution.

V. "The *(r)* Manichean ſect, or church, "as *Auguſtin*'s phraſe is, conſiſted of two "parts, Elect and Auditors." He afterwards ſays:

(q) Hujus autem mei voluminis titulus eſt, Contra Secundinum Manichaeum: quod, mea ſententia, omnibus quae adverſus illam peſtem ſcribere potui, facile praepono. *Retr. l. 2. cap. x.*

(r) Nam in his duabus profeſſionibus, hoc eſt, Electorum et Auditorum, eccleſiam ſuam conſtare voluerunt. *Aug. de Haer. cap.* 46.

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ſays: "As *(s) Mani* had twelve diſciples in "imitation of the twelve Apoſtles, that "number is ſtill reſpected by the Manichee- "ans. For there are twelve of their Elect, "whom they call Maſters: and there is a "thirteenth, who is their Preſident. They "have ſeventy two Biſhops ordained by the "Maſters, and Preſbyters ordained by Bi- "ſhops. Their Biſhops likewiſe have Deacons. "The reſt are called Elect only. But when "they are judged fit, they alſo are ſent "abroad, either for upholding and ſpread- "ing their errour where it is already, or for "planting it where it is not."

That we may the better judge of this diviſion of the Manicheans into Elect and Auditors, it is needful to take notice of ſome paſſages of divers authors.

(s) Propter quod etiam ipſe Manichaeus duodecim diſcipulos habuit, ad inſtar apoſtolici numeri, quem numerum Manichaei etiam hodie cuſtodiunt. Nam ex Electis ſuis habent duodecim, quos appellant magiſtros, et tertium-decimum principem eorum; epiſcopos autem ſeptuaginta duos, qui ordinantur a magiſtris; et preſbyteros, qui ordinantur ab epiſcopis. Habent etiam epiſcopi diaconos. Jam ceteri tantummodo Electi vocantur: ſed mittuntur etiam ipſi qui videntur idonei ad hunc errorem vel ubi eſt ſuſtentandum et augendum, vel ubi non eſt etiam ſeminandum. *Id. ibid.*

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Epiphanius calls their Auditors (*t*) Catechumens. And in the Acts of *Archelaus* the ſecond order of the Manicheans is *(u)* twice ſpoken of by the name of Catechumens.

Fauſtus expreſſeth himſelf, as if *(x)* by Elect were meant clergie, and by Auditors ſeculars, or the laity. *Auguſtin (y)* in his argument takes notice of this, without directly allowing it, that I perceive.

By the Manichean rule a very different courſe of life was preſcribed to the Elect from that of the Auditors. Theſe laſt *(z)* might

(t) Παραπελέυονται ἐν τοῖς ἀυτῶν κατηχυμένοις τρέφειν ἀυτὲς δαψιλῶς· οἱ δὲ πᾶν ὁτιῶν ἀναγκαῖον προσφέρυσι τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς ἑαυτῶν. *Epiph. H.* 66. *c.* 53. *p.* 665. *B.*

(u) —— μετενσωματῶνται εἰς κατηχυμένων σώματα. *Arch. c.* 9. *p.* 16. *m.* λέγει τῷ κατηχυμένῳ. *ib. p.* 17.

(x) Idcircoque Chriſto jam credere non poterant, [Judaei,] indifferentiam docenti ciborum, et a ſuis quidem diſcipulis omnia penitus removenti, ſaecularibus vero vulgo concedenti omnia quae poſſent edi. *Fauſt. l.* 16. *c.* 6. Neque enim juſta haec nunc veſtra ſententia eſt, ut nos quidem, qui ſolum in plebe ſacerdotale hominum genus cenſeamus a carnibus abſtinere debere, daemoniorum doctrinae videamur vobis aſſectatores. *Id. l.* 30. cap. 1.

(y) Auditoribus autem veſtris, quos tamquam diſtinctos a genere ſacerdotum dixiſti, ſecundum veniam haec edenda conceditis. *Contr. Fauſt. l.* 30. *c.* 5.

(z) Auditores autem qui appellantur apud eos, et carnibus veſcuntur, et agros colunt, et ſi voluerint, uxores habent, quorum nihil faciunt qui vocantur Electi. *Aug. ad Deuter. Ep.* 236. *al.* 74. Niſi forte quod non veſcimini carnibus, et vinum

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might eat fleſh, drink wine, bathe, marry, traffick, poſſeſs eſtates, bear magiſtracie, and the like: all which things were forbidden the Elect, as appears from divers paſſages of *Auguſtin*. The Elect *(a)* might eat grapes, but they were not to drink wine, though ever ſo new. The Elect alſo ate *(b)* apples, pears, melons, and all ſorts of fruit and herbage, and *(c)* common bread. But forbore, as it ſeems, not *(d)* only fleſh, but alſo eggs, and milk, and *(e)* fiſh. In this reſpect, as *Auguſtin*

vinum non bibitis. *De Mor. Manich. c.* 13. *n.* 27. Quandoquidem auditores veſtri, quorum apud vos ſecundus gradus eſt, ducere atque habere uxores non prohibeantur. *ib. c.* 18. *n.* 65.

(a) Nam et vinum non bibunt, dicentes fel eſſe tenebrarum, cum veſcantur uvis: nec muſti aliquid, vel recentiſſimi, ſorbent. *De Haer. c.* 46. Jam vero quae tanta perverſio eſt, vinum putare fel principum tenebrarum, et uvis comedendis non parcere? *De Mor. Manich. c. xvi. n.* 44.

(b) Vid. de M. Manich. cap. xiii. et xvi.

(c) Sicut enim in ipſo errore veſtro, cum eo pane veſcamini quo ceteri homines, et fructibus vivatis et fontibus, lana et lino ſimiliter texto amiciamini, &c. *Contr. Fauſt. l.* 20. *c.* 23.

(d) Nec veſcuntur ſaltem carnibus.——Nec ova ſaltem ſumunt,—— ſed nec alimonia lactis utuntur. —— *De Haer. cap.* 46.

(e) —— cur ita eum vos noxium praedicatis, ut ſi alia eſca non occurrat, prius fame conſumamini, quam piſce veſcamini. *Contr. Fauſt. l.* 16. *c.* 9.

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guſtin ſays, the *(f)* Elect and Auditors looked like men of two different religions. He elſewhere ſpeaks of the Elect, as *(g)* perſons, who pretended to greater perfection, and were ſuppoſed to be in the higheſt rank for virtue, and more holy than others. And he ſometimes pleaſantly calls the Elect *(h)* their Grandees, or Quality: unleſs he is to be underſtood to mean only ſome of the chief, even of them.

For what reaſons the Elect were required to forbear fleſh, and wine, is not clear. The catholic

(f) —non intuentes, non conſiderantes, in eiſdem habendis agendiſque rebus tantum ad diverſam vitam valere, ſi diverſa ſit fides, ut cum auditores veſtri et uxores habeant, et filios quamvis inviti ſuſcipiant, eiſque patrimonia congerant vel cuſtodiant, carne veſcantur, vinum bibant, lavent, metant, vindemient, negotientur, honores publicos adminiſtrent, vobiſcum eos tamen, non cum gentibus computetis, cum facta eorum gentibus videantur ſimiliora quam vobis. *Contr. Fauſt. l.* 20. *c.* 23.

(g) ——quam purgari putant Electis ſuis eo genere vitae, quam vivunt Electi Manichaeorum, velut ſanctius et excellentius Auditoribus ſuis. *De Haer. cap.* 46. Noſtis, fratres, —— quaſi juſtos eminentiores, in ſe tenentes primum gradum juſtitiae, Electos vocari apud Manichaeos. *Enar. in Pſ.* 140. *n.* 10.

(h) Nam etiam de quodam dicente, nullam ſubſtantiam malum eſſe, unus de primatibus hujus haereſis, quem familiarius crebriuſque audiebamus, dicebat. *De M. Manich. cap.* 8. *n.* 11. —— cum ad ipſos primates detuliſſemus,—— *ib. c.* 19. *n.* 70.

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catholic Chriſtians often ſay, that * *Paul* propheſyed of them in 1 Tim. iv. 1—4. And *Auguſtin* charges them with ‡ thinking ſuch meats to be evil in their own nature. And *Fauſtus* himſelf ſays, that † in his opinion, all fleſh is impure. Poſſibly, however, for no other reaſon, but becauſe fleſh was ſuppoſed to be a great fuel of concupiſcence: which therefore they, who were obliged to continence, ought to avoid. Somewhat of this kind is intimated in the Acts of †† *Archelaus*. If ſo, the Manichean Elect forbore thoſe things for the like reaſons, that the Catholics, as *Auguſtin* ſays, practiſed || certain

* Verumtamen quod apoſtolus Paulus ——futurum praeviderit in talibus, qualis Manichaeus fuit, quales et eſtis vos. ——Spiritus autem manifeſte dicit, quia in noviſſimis temporibus quidam recedent a fide,——prohibentes nubere, abſtinere a cibis, quos Deus creavit, &c. *Act. cum Felic. l. i. c. 7.*

‡ Vos autem ipſam creaturam negatis bonam, et immundam dicitis, quod carnes diabolus operetur faeculentiore materia mali. —— Hoc animo, hac voluntate, hac opinione ab eſcis hujuſmodi temperatis, quod non ſignificatione, ſed natura malae et immundae ſint. *Contr. Fauſt. l. 30. c. 5.*

† Ego quidem, quia omnem carnem immundam exiſtimem. *Fauſt. l. 6. c. i.*

†† Cum quis veſtrûm carnalibus, aliiſque cibis fuerit ſatiatus, tunc ei concupiſcentiae oboritur invitatio. —— *Manes ap. Arch. cap. 14. p. 17.*

|| Et Chriſtiani, non haeretici, ſed catholici, edomandi corporis

tain abſtinences; to humble the body, and ſtrengthen the mind. ‖* But that this was the only reaſon and foundation of this forbearance, I do not affirm.

The Auditors *(i)* were obliged to maintain the Elect. They *(k)* kneeled down to the Elect to aſk their bleſſing. This ceremonie was performed by the Auditors before all the Elect, and not only before Biſhops, Preſbyters, and Deacons.

From all theſe paſſages we may be able to form ſome judgement concerning this diſtinction in the Manichean ſect. *Archelaus* and *Epiphanius* denoting the ſecond order by the name

corporis cauſſa, propter animam in orationibus amplius humiliandum, non quod illa immunda eſſe credant, non ſolum a carnibus, verum etiam a quibuſdam terrae fructibus abſtinent. *Contr. F. l.* 30. *c.* 5.

‖* *See Beauſ. T.* 2. *p.* 767. *&c.*

(i) Suiſque Auditoribus ideo haec arbitrantur ignoſci, quia praebent inde alimenta Electis ſuis. —— Itaque ipſi Electi, nihil in agris operantes, nec poma carpentes, nec ſaltem folia ulla vellentes, exſpectant haec afferri ufibus ſuis ab Auditoribus ſuis. —— *Aug. de Haer. cap.* 46. Illac autem purgari nos ab iſtis ſordibus expetentes, cum eis qui appellarentur electi et ſancti, afferremus eſcas. —— *Confeſſ. l.* 4. *c. i. in.* Vid. et Epiph. H. 66. *c.* 53. *p.* 665, *B. ſupra citat. not. (t) p.* 88.

(k) Sed ipſi Auditores ante Electos genua figunt, ut eis manus ſupplicibus imponantur: non a ſolis preſbyteris vel epiſcopis aut diaconibus eorum, ſed a quibuſlibet electis. *Aug. ad Deut. Ep.* 236. *al.* 74. *n.* 2.

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name of Catechumens, we might have been induced to think, that Elect and Auditors among the Manicheans anſwered to Faithful and Catechumens among the Catholics. But when we conſider what *Fauſtus* ſayd, aud that the Elect, when qualified, were employed in ſpreading their principles, and that the Auditors maintained the Elect, and aſked a bleſſing from them upon their knees, we are rather led to another notion.

Beauſobre gives this account of the matter: "The *(l)* Elect were their Doctors, their "Biſhops, their Preſbyters, their Eccleſiaſ- "tical Miniſters. But this title does not "properly denote the epiſcopate, or any "other office. It denotes a particular kind "of life, or the obſervation of ſome coun- "ſels, called evangelic; ſuch rules as *Mani* "had preſcribed to thoſe who aimed at per- "fection, and particularly to the Miniſters "of his ſect. Thus the Manichean Elect "were the Miniſters of their church, and in "general all who made profeſſion of celi- "bacie, virginity, poverty, and practiſed "certain abſtinences and auſterities, which "were judged proper for them. For which "reaſon

(l) Hiſt. de Manich. T. 2. p. 763. 764. See likewiſe T. i. p. 17. note (8)

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"reaſon they are called *(m)* the perfect by "*Theodoret.*" *Beauſobre* farther obſerves, that *(n)* among the Catholics, Catechumens were ſuch as had not been initiated by baptiſm: whereas among the Manichean Auditors there were many, who had been baptized, though perhaps not at all.

According to this account, as the ſame learned writer expreſſeth himſelf in another *(o)* place, "the Elect were Eccleſiaſtics, and "in general all ſuch as made profeſſion of "obſerving certain counſels, called evangelic: "as if we ſhould ſay, the Clergie and the "Monks. The Auditors were Laity."

Whether this account be quite right, I cannot certainly ſay. For *Auguſtin* ſeems to intimate, that *(p)* the reaſon, why he was not preſent at their euchariſt, was, that he was only an Auditor.

But however that be, I would obſerve, that the word Elect, denoting the higher order, ſo

(m) ὁι καλέμενοι τέλειοι παρ' αὐτοῖς. *H. Fab. l.* 1. *c.* 26. *p.* 214. *A.*

(n) ib. p. 763.

(o) ib. T. i. p. 17. *note* (8)

(p) Quid autem inter vos agatis, qui Electi eſtis, ego ſcire non poſſum. Nam et euchariſtiam audivi a vobis ſaepe quod accipiatis: tempus autem accipiendi cum me lateret, quid accipiatis, unde noſſe potui? *Diſput. contr. Fort. i. n.* 2.

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ſo often found in *Auguſtin*, is alſo uſed in the like manner *(q)* by *Gregorie Nazianzen*: and that *(r)* ſome Manicheans, who were only in the rank of Auditors, appear to have practiſed much ſtrictneſſe and abſtemiouſneſſe, reſembling that required of their Elect.

Beauſobre thinks, that *(s)* the Auditors were ſo called, becauſe they heard in the church, whilſt others taught and inſtructed.

I do not remember to have ſeen in him, or any one elſe, a reaſon aſſigned for the uſe of the word Elect, denoting all thoſe of the ſect, which were not Auditors. But perhaps they borrowed it from thoſe texts of the Goſpels and Epiſtles, where the word is uſed for Chriſtians, or God's peculiar people: as Matth. xxiv. 22. 24. 31. Luke xviii. 7. Rom. viii. 33. Col. iii. 12. and other places. *Auguſtin (t)* has a paſſage, which may lead us to this thought.

Photius

(q) —— ὥσπερ οἱ μανιχαῖοι τοῖς ἐκλεκτοῖς λεγομένοις, ὅλην τὴν νόσον αὐτοῖς ἐκκαλύπτουσες. *Greg. N. Or.* 52. *p.* 746. *C.*

(r) Nam quidam veſter auditor, in illa memorabili abſtinentia nihilo electis cedens. *De M. Manich. c.* 20. *n.* 74. *in.*

(s) T. 2. *p.* 763.

(t) Electi quidem Dei ſunt omnes ſancti, et habemus hoc in ſcripturis: ſed uſurparunt ſibi illud nomen, et quaſi familiarius ſibi applicaverunt, ut tamquam proprie jam Electi appellentur. *Enarr. in Pſ.* 140. *n.* 10.

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Photius in his firſt book againſt the Paulicians, uſually reckoned a branch of the Manicheans, relates a ſingularity of theirs. They *(u)* reduced all their ſect, or the profeſſors of their principles, to ſix churches. The firſt was called *Macedonia*, the ſecond *Achaia*, the third was called the church of the *Philippians*, the fourth that of the *Laodiceans*, the fifth that of the *Epheſians*, the ſixth that of the *Coloſſians*. Themſelves *(x)* they called Chriſtians. The Catholics they named Romans, as *(y)* if they had been mere Heathens. This fanſie, of reducing their ſect to ſix churches, is alſo taken notice of by *(z) Peter* of *Sicilie*, and the author of the Form of abjuring Manicheiſm, as it is in *(a) Cotelerius*, and *(b) Tollius*.

Moreover,

(u) Ἐξ ὧν δὲ αὐτῶν ὁμολογοῦσιν ἐκκλησίας, ἃς τὴν μὲν μακεδονίαν καλοῦσιν. κ. λ. *Phot. l. i. cap. v. in.*

(x) Καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀληθῶς οὔσας χριστιανὰς ῥωμαίους οἱ τρισαλεσήριοι ὀνομάζουσιν· ἑαυτοῖς δὲ τὴν κλῆσιν, ἧς ἀλλότριοι πανταχῆ καθεστήκασι, τῶν χριστιανῶν περιάπτουσιν. *Phot. ib. l. i. cap.* 6.

(y) Seipſos —— Chriſtianos nuncupant; nos autem —— Romanos, Ethnico nomine proprium permutare conati, appellant. *Pet. Sic. ap. Bib. Patr. T.* 16. *p.* 756. *B.*

(z) Vid. ſupr. not. (y).

(a) ap. Recognit. Clem. l. 4. *c.* 27.

(b) Inſign. Ital. p. 144.

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Moreover, it was a common thing among them, their leaders especially, to change the name by which they were first called for that of some apostolical man. *Photius (c)* produces several instances: *Simeon*, who changed his name to *Titus*: *Joseph*, who leaving his own name took that of *Epaphroditus*: *Gegnesius*, who altered his name to *Timothie*: and *Sergius*, who called himself *Tychicus*. Insomuch that Mr. *Wolff*, the learned editor of *Photius*, could not forbear remarking, that *(d)* these people mightily affected apostolical things.

Their manners vindicated.

VI. The Manicheans are sometimes spoken of, as an impious, dissolute sort of people. Their eucharist, particularly, is represented as an abominanble rite, not fit to be described: as may be seen in *(e) Cyril* of *Jerusalem*, and *(f) Augustin. Beausobre*

 (g) speaks

(c) Phot. ib. l. i. c. iv.

(d) Adeo in omnibus apostolici aevi speciem affectarunt, ut, quemadmodum virorum apostolicorum, ita et ecclesiarum veteris memoriae nomina adoptarent, ad exemplum factionis istius, quae Apostolicorum nomine apud veteres nominatur. *ap. Phot. p.* 15.

(e) Cat. vi. cap. 33.

(f) Qua occasione, vel potius exsecrabilis superstitionis quadam necessitate, coguntur Electi eorum velut eucharistiam consperſam

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(g) ſpeaks largely to this infamous ſtorie of their euchariſt, to whom I refer. However I ſhall here mention ſome of his arguments and obſervations.

The thing is altogether incredible, eſpecially when related (h) of people, who by profeſſion were Chriſtians: who believed, that Jeſus Chriſt was a perfect model of all virtues: who acknowledged the reaſonableneſſe and excellence of the precepts of the goſpel, and that the eſſence of religion lyes in obeying them.

The Manicheans always denyed their practiſing the abominable rites layed to their charge. So (i) *Auguſtin* himſelf ſays. And in the year 392. when he had been ſeveral years a Catholic, and was now Preſbyter, he had

conſperſam cum ſemine humano ſumere. —— Sed hoc ſe facere negant, et alios neſcio quos ſub nomine Manichaeorum id facere affirmant. Detecti tamen ſunt in eccleſia, ſicut ſcis, apud Carthaginem, —— ubi puella nomine Margarita iſtam nefariam turpitudinem prodidit, quae cum eſſet annorum nondum duodecim, propter hoc ſceleſtum myſterium ſe dicebat eſſe vitiatam. Tunc Euſebiam quamdam Manichaeam quaſi ſanctimonialem, idipſum propter hoc ipſum paſſam, vix compulit confiteri —— quae totum illud turpiſſimum ſcelus, ubi ad excipiendum et commiſcendum concumbentium ſemen farina ſubſternitur, —— ſimiliter indicavit. *Aug. de Haereſ. cap.* 46.

(g) *Beauſ. Hiſt. de Manich. l.* 9. *ch.* 7. 8. 9. *T.* 2. *p.* 720. *&c.*

(h) *Beauſ. ib. p.* 732.

(i) *Sed hoc ſe facere negant. Vid. ſupr. not.* (f)

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had a public conference with *Fortunatus*, a Manichean Preſbyter. Before they enter into diſpute upon matters of belief, *Fortunatus* openly calls upon *Auguſtin*, who for ſeveral years was one of them, to tell, *(k)* if he knew any of the crimes, with which they were reproached. This confidence of *Fortunatus*, ſays *(l) Beauſobre*, is a ſtrong preſumption of the innocence of the ſect. *Auguſtin (m)* puts by that queſtion. When he is ſtill preſſed by *Fortunatus*, who inſiſts upon an anſwer, *Auguſtin* is not able to produce any thing material againſt them of his own knowledge: but excuſeth *(n)* himſelf, becauſe he was not one of the Elect, but only an Auditor.

In the year 391. or 392. *Auguſtin* wrote a book for the ſake of his friend *Honoratus*,

(k) Ex te ergo praeſentes audiant boni viri, utrum ſint vera ſuper quibus criminamur et appetimur, an ſint falſa. —— Purgare me prius volo penes conſcientiam veſtram —— ſi ea quae jactantur vidit in nobis, vel conſecutus eſt. *Act. contr. Fortunat. in.*

(l) ibid. p. 737. *m.*

(m) Interfui. Sed alia quaeſtio eſt de fide, alia de moribus: ego de fide propoſui. *Act. Fortun. n.* 2.

(n) Noſtis autem me non Electum veſtrum, ſed Auditorem fuiſſe. —— Quid autem inter vos agatis, qui Electi eſtis, ego ſcire non poſſum. *et reliqua. ib. n.* 3.

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whom *(o)* of a Heathen he had perſuaded to become a Manichean: who alſo ſtill adhered to that ſect, when he himſelf had left it. *Auguſtin* is allowed to argue here for the moſt part very well. But, ſays *(p) Beauſobre*, why does he not in this book, for the ſake of his dear and illuſtrious friend, make uſe of that deciſive argument, their abominable myſteries? No good reaſon, he thinks, can be aſſigned for this omiſſion, but that there was no ground for the accuſation.

The general ſilence of ancient authors is another argument of the falſhood of this ſtorie. *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* publiſhed his Catechetical diſcourſes about the year 347. ſeventy years, as is ſuppoſed, after the death of *Mani*. But, as *(q) Beauſobre* ſays, he is the firſt who has ſpoken of this matter. And *(r)* from *Cyril* to *Auguſtin* he does not find any author, Chriſtian or Heathen, who has reproached the Manicheans with theſe obſcene myſteries. There *(s)* is no mention made of them in the Diſpute of *Archelaus*. *Serapion* Biſhop

(o) Tu nondum Chriſtianus, qui hortatu meo, cum eos vehementer exſecraris, &c. *De Util. Cred. c. i. n. 2.*

(p) ib. p. 741.

(q) —— *p.* 725.

(r) —— *p.* 728.

(s) ib. p. 734. 735.

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Biſhop of *Thmuis*, contemporarie wtih *Cyril*, ſays not a word of them. Nor has he perceived this accuſation in any works of *Ephrem*. *Theodoret*, *Titus* of *Boſtra*, and *Abulpharagius* in his Dynaſties, are alſo ſilent upon this head. And, as *Beauſobre* goes on, if to theſe Fathers we add the two Pagan Philoſophers, *Alexander* of *Lycopolis* and *Simplicius*, who both wrote againſt theſe people, and are profoundly ſilent about the crimes they are reproached with, the number of witneſſes to their innocence in this reſpect will greatly ſurpaſs that of their accuſers. Sect. I.

I ſhall ſay nothing more concerning that point. But as (t) *Suidas*, without any particular regard to their euchariſt, upbraids the Manicheans with nocturnal aſſemblies and obſcene mixtures, and others (F) often ſpeak of them as an impious ſet of men; I ſhall add ſome things, which perhaps may be of

(t) Καὶ καλαδύσεις τινὰς ἐναγεῖς καὶ νυκτερινὰς, καὶ παρανόμους μίξεις. κ. λ. *Suid. V.* Μάνης.

(F) In *Moreri*'s article of *Manes* are theſe words: "He "condemned marriage, ſtill allowing his followers to plunge "themſelves in all manner of ſenſuality: ——" et condamnoit le marriage, permettant pourtant à ſes diſciples de ſe plonger dans toutes ſortes de voluptez brutales. Docens, ... illicitas eſſe nuptias, licitos concubitus promiſcuos. *Lamp. Synopſ. H. E. l. 2. c. 2. p. 125.* How could any man believe that!

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uſe to ſet the character of this people in a proper light.

About the year 388. ſome time after he was returned to the Catholics, *Auguſtin* wrote two books; one entitled Of the manners of the Catholic church, the other Of the manners of the Manicheans. And they were occaſioned by the Manicheans *(u)* boaſting of their own ſtrict courſe of life, and *(x)* by their cenſures of the looſe behaviour of the Catholics.

At the begining of the firſt of thoſe two books *Auguſtin* owns, that *(y)* the Manicheans enſnared many by the ſpecious appearance of chaſtity and temperance. This was the very thing, that *(z)* brought his friend *Alypius* into their nets.

Auguſtin

(u) Jam baptizatus autem cum Romae eſſem, nec ferre tacitus poſſem Manichaeorum jactantiam de falſa et fallaci continentia et abſtinentia, —— ſcripſi duos libros, unum de Moribus Eccleſiae Catholicae, alterum de Moribus Manichaeorum. *Retr. l. i. c.* 7.

(x) Nolite conſectari turbas imperitorum; qui vel in ipſa vera religione ſuperſtitioſi ſunt, vel ita libidinibus dediti, ut obliti ſint quid promiſerint Deo. *De Mor. Ec. Cath. c.* 34. *n.* 75.

(y) Sed quoniam duae maxime ſunt illecebrae Manichaeorum, quibus decipiuntur incauti,——altera, cum vitae caſtae et memorabilis continentiae imaginem praeferunt. *De Mor. Ec. Ca. cap. i. n.* 2.

(z) —— amans in Manichaeis oſtentationem continentiae, quam veram et germanam putabat. *Confeſſ. l.* 6. *c.* 7. *n.* 12.

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Auguſtin himſelf ſeems to have acquitted them. Whilſt he was among them, he lived a ſenſual courſe of life, and his head was filled with ambitious ſchemes. But he owns, that *(a)* this was not owing to their doctrine: for they earneſtly exhorted men, he ſays, to mind better things. So he writes at the begining of his book, addreſſed to his friend *Honoratus*. And at the end of it he ſpeaks of the pale countenances of theſe *(b)* men.

It is a ſaying of *Ephrem* the *Syrian*, that *(c)* the devil gave *Mani* a pale complexion, the better to deceive the ſimple and unwarie.

St. *Chryſoſtom* obſerves of the Manicheans, that *(d)* they had an appearance of modeſtie, but

(a) —— cum vitae hujus mundi eram implicatus, tenebroſam ſpem gerens, de pulcritudine uxoris, de pompa divitiarum, de inanitate honorum, ceteriſque noxiis et perniciosis voluptatibus. Haec enim omnia, quod te non latet, cum ſtudioſe illos audirem, cupere et ſperare non deſiſtebam. Neque hoc eorum doctrinae tribuo. Fateor enim et illos ſedulo monere, ut iſta caveantur. *De Util. Cred. ad Honorat. c. i. n.* 3.

(b) —— quo illi homines exſangues corporibus, ſed craſſis mentibus adſpirare non poſſunt. *ib. cap. ult.*

(c) Quare ſic interpretor: Pallore Manetem diabolus tinxit, ut incautos falleret. *Aſſem. Bib. Or. T. i. p.* 119.

(d) Καὶ γὰρ οἱ μανιχαῖοι —— τὸ χῆμα μὲν ἐπιδείκνυνται ἐπιεικίας, —— ᾧ καταχρύπτουσι τῇ ὁρᾷ τῶ προσώπε τὸν λύκον. *In Gen. Serm.* 7. *p.* 680. *B. ed. Bened.*

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but they hid the wolf under ſheep's cloathing.

It appears from divers things ſayd by St. *Jerome*, that *(e)* the Manicheans were great faſters; and that they had among them many virgins, perſons who profeſſed to live a chaſt and ſingle life. The gay ladies of his time endeavored many ways to put a good face upon their luxurious courſe of life: Sometimes they *(f)* ſayd: To the pure all things are pure. And if at any time they met a woman who looked pale and ſad, they would ſay: Ah child, thou art a Nun, or a miſerable Manichean, I ſuppoſe.

Jerome commenting upon Amos iii. 15. *And I will ſmite the winter-houſe with the ſummer-houſe*, ſays, "that *(g)* by the winter-"houſe

(e) Atque utinam omni tempore jejunare poſſimus, —— Nec tamen Manichaeae haereſeos accuſandi ſunt, quum carnalis cibus praeferri non debuerit ſpirituali. *Ad. Lucin. Ep.* 52. *al.* 28. *T.* 4. *p.* 579.

(f) Iſtae ſunt, quae ſolent dicere: Omnia munda mundis, —— Et quam viderint pallentem atque triſtem, Miſeram, Monacham, et Manichaeam vocant. *De Cuſtod. Virg. Ep.* 18. *al.* 22. *p.* 32. *f.*

(g) Et percutiet domum hyemalem; eos haereticos, qui laborant continentia et jejuniis xerophagiis, chamaeeuniis, e quibus Tatianus et Manichaeus. Et domum aeſtivam, ut Nicolaitas, —— qui propter ventris ingluviem, omnem recipiunt voluptatem. *In Amos l. i. T.* 3. *p.* 1396. *in.*

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" houſe may be underſtood thoſe heretics " that mortifyed themſelves with faſting and " abſtinence, who fared hard and lodged " hard; ſuch as *Tatian*, and *Mani*, and their " followers. The ſummer-houſe may de- " note the *Nicolaitans* and other heretics, " who indulged their appetites, and lived in " all manner of exceſſe." And upon Joel i. 14. *Sanctify ye a faſt*, he has theſe words: " *Mani (b)* and *Tatian* and many other he- " retics faſt, but their faſting is worſe than " gluttonie and drunkenneſſe." Once more, the ſame ancient and learned writer declares: " Virgins, ſuch *(i)* as are ſaid to be among " divers heretics, and even among the impure " Manicheans, are to be eſteemed whores, " not Virgins." Such is the unhappineſſe of hereſie, which turns virtues into vices! It is true however, that the Manicheans faſted, and lived chaſtly: but their great abſtinence and virginal chaſtity were of no value.

Sect. I.

Chryſoſtom

(b) Jejunat Manichaeus et multi haeretici, maximeque Encratitae, quorum princeps Tatianus. Sed hoc jejunium fatuitate et ebrietate deterius eſt. *In Joel. cap. i. ib. p.* 1345. *f.*

(i) Ceterum virgines, quales apud diverſas haereſes, et quales apud impuriſſimum Manichaeum eſſe dicuntur, ſcorta ſunt aeſtimandae, non virgines. *De Cuſtod. Virg. Ep.* 18. *T.* 4. *p.* 47.

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Sect. I.

Chryſoſtom expreſſeth himſelf in the like manner. He ſays, he *(k)* dares not call the virgins of heretics virgins: and affirms, that *(l)* the ſobriety of heretics is worſe than the greateſt diſſolutneſſe.

I ſuppoſe, the reaſon of theſe hard ſentences may be what is ſomewhere obſerved by *Auguſtin*, that *(m)* actions are qualified by the views and ends with which they are performed.

I preſume, that all theſe paſſages of ancient writers may be ſufficient to render it probable, that the Manicheans had no doctrines, which countenanced a licentious courſe of life. Some of their Elect, it is likely, failed *(n)* in obſerving the ſtrict rules, by which

(k) Τὰς γὰρ τῶν αἱρετικῶν οὐκ ἂν εἴποιμί ποτε παρθένους ἐγώ. *Chr. de Virgin. T. i. p.* 268. *B.*

(l) Καὶ γὰρ ἀσελγείας ἁπάσης ἡ τῶν αἱρετικῶν σωφροσύνη χείρων ἐστίν. *ib. p.* 271. *E. Vid. et. A. B. C. ib.*

(m) Niſi forte quod non veſcimini carnibus, et vinum non bibitis, —— Quod quaero a vobis, quo fine faciatis? Finis enim quo referuntur ea quae facimus, —— ſi non ſolum inculpabilis, ſed etiam laudabilis fuerit, tunc demum etiam facta noſtra laude aliqua digna ſunt. *De Mor. Manich. l. 2. cap.* 13. *n.* 27. —— Sed tamen ſignificantes, vanam eſſe continentiam iſtam, niſi ad aliquem rectiſſimum finem, certa ratione feratur. *ib. n.* 28. Si ergo parcimoniae gratia et coercendae libidinis, qua eſcis talibus et potu delectamur et capimur, audio et probo. Sed non ita eſt. *ibid. Vid. et eund. contr. Fauſt. l.* 6. *cap.* 5.

(n) Vid. Aug. de Mor. Manich. cap. 18. 19. 20.

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which they were bound. But ſo it was with the Catholics. There were bad livers likewiſe among them. Some *(o)* who pretended to much ſanctity and devotion, were guilty of great enormities. *Auguſtin*'s complaint of the Manicheans is verifyed in all parties: men *(p)* ſay, and do not. They commend and teach what they do not perform. Sect. I.

VII. The Manicheans ſeldom had the protection of the Roman laws. *Tillemont* in his hiſtorie of this people has an entire article concerning the laws of the Emperours againſt them. In *Auguſtin*'s works againſt the Manicheans we find frequent notice of the difficulties they lay under. *Fauſtus (q)* gloryes in the perſecutions they endured, as a proof of their being good Chriſtians. This was a common ſubject of boaſting among them. And *How they were perſecuted.*

(o) Novi multos eſſe ſepulchrorum et picturarum adoratores. Novi multos eſſe, qui luxurioſiſſime ſuper mortuos bibant, et epulas cadaveribus exhibentes, ſuper ſepultos ſe ipſos ſepeliant, et voracitates, ebrietateſque ſuas deputent religioni. &c. *De Mor. Ec. Ca. c.* 34. *n.* 74.

(p) Cum autem laudatis et docetis iſta, nec facitis, quid vobis fallacius —— dici aut inveniri poteſt? *De Mor. Manich. c.* 19. *n.* 68.

(q) Vides pauperem, —— eſurientem, ſitientem, perſecutiones et odia ſuſtinentem propter juſtitiam. Et dubitas, utrum accipiam evangelium? *Fauſt. l.* 5. *c.* 1.

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Sect. I.

And they argued, that *(r)* they were not of the world, and must needs be sincere lovers of truth, because the world hated them, and they were always under persecution.

It appears by *Augustin*'s second day's conference with *Felix*, at *Hippo*, in the year 404. that the Manichean books or papers of *Felix* had been taken from him, and were in the custodie of a public officer. *Felix (s)* desired to have them restored to him, for his assistance in the debate. *Augustin* at length allows, that any thing he pointed to might be recited out of those writings. Among them was a letter of *Mani*, called the Epistle of the Foundation. And in the first day's conference *Felix* several times intimates *(t)* the

(r) Ubi est ergo quod perpetuam sibi persecutionem in hoc mundo futuram praedicant, eoque se commendatiores haberi volunt, hinc interpretantes, quod hic mundus eos oderit. *De M. Manich. c.* 19. *n.* 69. —— aut definite vos inde jactare, quod multis detestabiles sitis. *Contr. Faust. l.* 6. *c.* 8.

(s) Et quia nullam scripturam inter manus habui, quia non mihi sunt redditae, unde me instruere possem. Nullus enim ad certamen exit, nisi prius munitus fuerit: et nullus litigator potest sine suis chartis litigare. Similiter et ego sine mea scriptura respondere non possum. —— Modo peto, codices reddantur mihi. —— *Aug. dixit:* Sed quia codices tuos repetis, qui sub sigillo publico custodiuntur. —— Tolle autem codices tuos, et dic quid inde velis proferri. —— *Felix dixit:* Omnes scripturas, quae mihi sublatae sunt. Ista enim Epistola Fundamenti est, &c. *Act. cum Fel. l.* 2. *c.* 1.

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(t) the difficulty he lay under in diſputing againſt the Imperial laws.

When *Auguſtin (u)* ſpeaks of the baniſhment of *Fauſtus* and others into an iſland, I think, he intimates, that by law they might have been puniſhed more ſeverely. For he ſays, that moderate ſentence was obtained by the interceſſion of thoſe very Chriſtians, who proſecuted *Fauſtus* and his Manichean friends in the Proconſul's court. And in the ſame context, a little before, he ſpeaks of the *(x)* advantage, the Manicheans had from the mildneſſe of the Catholics: which was ſuch, that their ſufferings were few, and almoſt none at all. But then it ſhould be obſerved, that *(y) Auguſtin* computes baniſhment into a deſert

(t) Non tantum ego poſſum contra tuam virtutem, deinde contra leges Imperatorum. —— *Act. cum. Fel. l.* 1. *c.* 12. *Vid. ib. infra, et cap.* 6.

(u) Fauſtus autem convictus vel confeſſus, quod Manichaeus eſſet, cum aliis nonnullis ſecum ad judicium proconſulare perductis, eis ipſis Chriſtianis a quibus perducti ſunt intercedentibus, leviſſima poena, ſi tamen illa poena dicenda eſt, in inſulam relegatus eſt: quod ſua ſponte quotidie ſervi Dei faciunt, ſe a turbulento ſtrepitu populorum removere cupientes; —— Denique non multo poſt inde omnes eadem ſollemni ſorte dimiſſi ſunt. *Contr. Fauſt. l.* 6. *c.* 8.

(x) Pro qua impia perverſitate, propter Chriſtianorum temporum manſuetudinem, quam parva et prope nulla patiamini, cur non cogitatis? *ib.*

(y) Vid. not. (*u*).

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Sect. I.

a deſert iſland to be a mere trifle, and little more than retirement, which gives men an opportunity for meditation. Moreover, as he aſſures us, the baniſhment of the Manicheans, beforementioned, was of ſhort duration. They were all ſoon releaſed by public authority.

And it may be collected from ſome things ſayd by *Auguſtin* upon another occaſion, that *(x)* though their aſſemblies were prohibited by law, at *Carthage*, they *(a)* found opportunities to meet together for divine worſhip. Such was the zeal of theſe unhappy people, or ſuch was the moderation of thoſe who were entruſted with the execution of the laws againſt them.

Not long after the year 440. Pope *Leo (b)* made ſtrict enquirie after the Manicheans at Rome and in other places, and deſtroyed great

(x) — quod eo tempore, quo conventicula eorum lege publica prohiberentur. *De Mor. Man. c.* 19. *n.* 69.

(a) Non erant hi [Electi] ex una domo, ſed diverſe prorſus habitantes, ex eo loco ubi conventus omnium factus erat, pariter forte deſcenderant. *ib. n.* 68.

(b) Hoc tempore plurimos Manichaeos intra Urbem latere diligentiae Papae Leonis innotuit, qui eos de ſecretis ſuis erutos, et oculis totius eccleſiae publicatos, omnes dogmatis ſui turpitudines et damnare fecit et prodere, incenſis eorum codicibus, quorum magnae moles erant interceptae. &c. *Proſper. Chr. Integr. ap. Caniſ. et Baſnag. Lection. T. i. p.* 304.

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great numbers of their books. So writes *Proſper*. And from *Leo* himſelf, in a letter to the Biſhops of *Italie*, we learn, that *(c)* he detected many of this people at Rome. Some he converted. The reſt, who were unmoved by his arguments, were condemned to perpetual baniſhment, as the laws directed.

Photius ſays, that *(d)* though many Emperours had puniſhed thoſe apoſtates even with death, the progreſſe of their impiety had not been ſtopped.

They who are deſirous of knowing more of this matter may conſult the Codes *(e)* of *Juſtinian*, and *(f)* *Theodoſius*: where are divers laws againſt theſe men, which cannot be denyed to have an appearance of much ſeverity.

In

(c) Plurimos impietatis Manichaeae ſequaces et doctores in Urbe inveſtigatio noſtra reperit. —— Aliquanti vero, qui ita ſe demerſerant, ut nullum his auxiliantis poſſet remedium ſubvenire, ſubditi legibus, ſecundum Chriſtianorum principum conſtituta, ne ſanctum gregem ſua contagione polluerent, per publicos judices perpetuo ſunt exilio relegati. *Leo. Ep. 2. ad omn. Ep. Ital.*

(d) —— πολλῶν δὲ ἀυτεξόων βασιλέων ξίφει τὴν δίκην τῶν ἀποστάτας ἐκπραττομένων, ϗ μηδ' ὕτω τῆς ἀσεβοῦς φορᾶς ἱσαμένης. *Phot. Contr. Man. l. i. c.* 16. *p.* 61.

(e) *Juſt. Cod. l. i. Tit. v. De Haereticis, et Manichaeis, et Samaritis.*

(f) *Cod. Theod. l.* 16. *Tit. v. De Haereticis.*

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Sect. I.

In *Baronius (g)* may be ſeen ſuch a reſcript of *Diocletian* and *Maximian*, ſayd to be given at *Alexandria* in the year 290. occaſioned by an account received from *Julian*, Proconſul of *Africa*, of the great diſturbances cauſed by the Manicheans in that countrey. This reſcript is, I think, generally allowed to be *(h)* genuine. But *Samuel Baſnage (i)* offers divers weighty arguments againſt that ſuppoſition. One of them is, that there is no mention of this law in *Euſebe*, *Cyril*, or *Auguſtin*. He has many other reaſons, which are very conſiderable, and may be ſeen in his own work.

Indeed it ſeems to me altogether unlikely, that Manicheiſm ſhould ſo ſoon have gained footing, and made ſuch progreſſe in *Africa*, as is here ſuppoſed: ſo as to cauſe diſturbances to divers people and *(k)* cities, and *(l)* be

(g) Baron. Ann. 287. *n. i. ii. &c. Vid. et Coteler. Mon. Gr. T. i. p.* 778. 779.

(h) Vid. Tillem. Les Manicheens Art. 17. *et Diocletien.* §. 14.

(i) Baſn. Ann. 287. *n. iv.*

(k) ——et multa facinora ibi committere: populos namque quietos perturbare, nec non civitatibus maxima detrimenta inferre. *ap. Baron. ib. n.* 3.

(l) Si qui ſane etiam honorati, aut cujuſlibet dignitatis, vel majoris perſonae, ad hanc inauditam, turpemque ſectam, —— ſe tranſtulerunt. *ib. n.* 4.

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be received by men of high rank, as well as others. Sect. I.

It appears to me also very probable, that if *Diocletian* had made such a law as this, the Manicheans would have been expressly named in *Constantin*'s edicts against heretics: whereas it does not appear from *Eusebe*, that *(m)* they were so named in any such laws of that Christian Empererour.

It must be owned, *Ammianus Marcellinus* says, "that *(n) Constantin*, desirous to get "exact information concerning the opinions "of divers sects, the Manicheans and the "like, employed *Strategius* for that purpose: "who acquitted himself so well in the office "assigned him, that the Emperour ordered, "he should for the future be called *Muso-* "*nianus*." But perhaps *Ammianus* accommodates his way of speaking to the state of things in his own time, when the Manicheans were well known, as well as greatly disliked. *Ammianus* mentions no other sect distinctly, beside the Manicheans, as if they

(m) Vid. Eus. de Vit. Constant. l. 3. cap. 63. 64.

(n) Constantinus enim cum limatius superstitionum quaereret sectas, Manichaeorum et similium, nec interpres inveniretur idoneus, hunc sibi commendatum ut sufficientem elegit: quem officio functum perite, Musonianum voluit appellari, ante Strategium dictitatum. *Amm. M. l. 15. c. 13.*

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Sect. I.

were the principal ſubject of inquirie: which can hardly be allowed, when we perceive from our eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians, that there were other ſects at that time, which made much more noiſe in the Roman Empire. However, the inquiry here ſpoken of is no proof, that the Manicheans were named in any of *Conſtantin*'s laws againſt heretics.

Beauſobre (o) admits the genuinneſſe of this law. But then he ſays, *Diocletian (p)* and his Miniſters muſt have been very little acquainted with the true principles of the Manicheans: which I think ſhould have led him to ſuſpect the reputed original of this reſcript, and aſcribe it rather to ſome ignorant and deſigning impoſtor.

Before I conclude the remarks upon this reſcript I ſhould acknowledge, that it is mentioned in *(q)* the Commentaries upon St. *Paul*'s thirteen Epiſtles, uſually joyned with the works of St. *Ambroſe*. But, as the *Benedictin*

(o) See B. Hiſt. de Man. T. i. p. 183. *T. 2. p.* 799.

(p) Diocletien et ſes miniſtres connoiſſoient fort mal ces heretiques, s'ils les croyoient capables d'approuver les inceſtes, eux qui toleroient à peine le mariage. *ib. T. i. p.* 284.

(q) Quippe cum Diocletianus imperator conſtitutione ſua deſignet, dicens: Sordidam hanc et impuram haereſim, quae nuper, inquit, egreſſa eſt de Perſide. *Ambroſiaſt. in 2. Tim. c. iii. p.* 310. *C.*

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Sect. I.

dictin editors ſay, thoſe *(r)* Commentaries have been interpolated in many places. And they may have been ſo here. However the age of that work is not certainly known. I formerly *(s)* took ſome notice of it.

(r) Illud inſuper adjiciendum eſt, eoſdem librarios magna licentia ſaltem in tres priores epiſtolas abuſos eſſe: quandoquidem ab eis non raro longa fragmenta ibidem inſerta fuiſſe probabile eſt, quae in vetuſtioribus manuſcriptis non inveniuntur. &c. *Admon. p.* 21. *f.*

(s) See before Vol. iv. p. 789. 790.

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SECT. II.

The Hiſtorie of MANI.

I. *His Name, Countrey, Parents, Qualifications.* II. *The Time of the Riſe of Manicheiſm.*

Sect. II. I. *MANI*, always *(a)* ſo called by the *Perſians* and *Arabians*, uſually called *Manes* or *Manichee* by the *Greeks* and *Romans*, was *(b)* a *Perſian*, or at leſt lived in the territories of the King of *Perſia*; as is allowed

(a) Manes Perſa, in eorum libris dictus Mani pictor, nam talis fuit profeſſione ſua. —— Cum itaque in omnibus Arabum et Perſarum libris conſtanter vocetur Mani, hoc verum ejus nomen Perſicum fuiſſe tuto credamus. Hinc Graecis et aliis vulgo audit Μάνης. *Hyde de Relig. Vet. Perſ. c.* 21. *p.* 280. 281. *Vid. et Moſtem. de Reb. Chriſtian. ante Conſtantin. m. p.* 734.

(b) Μάνης δὲ ἦτος ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν περσῶν ὁρμᾶτο γῆς. *Epiph. Haer.* 66. *n.* i.

Manichaei a quodam Perſa extiterunt, qui vocabatur Manes. *Auguſtin. de Haer. c.* 46. *in.*

Perſa, quem accuſaſti, non aderit. *Secundin. Ep. ad Aug. c.* 3.

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allowed *(c)* by all authors, who ſpeak of him. Sect. II.

Beauſobre (d) ſays, it is certain he was a *Perſian*, if thereby be meant that he was a native ſubject of the Kings of *Perſia*. But if thereby be meant that he was of the province of *Fars* or *Perſia*, it is doubtful. *Ephrem* ſays, *(e)* he was a *Babylonian*; that is, of the province of *Babylon*, or elſe of *Chaldaea*, which *(f)* is often confounded with that of *Babylon*. This ſeems to be confirmed by the Acts of *Archelaus*, where *(g)* that Biſhop reproaches *Mani* with underſtanding no language, but his *Chaldee*; which implyes, that he was a *Chaldean*.

It is not a little diſagreeable, to obſerve the poor thoughts of divers ancient *Greek* writers, occaſioned by the name of this man. The thing is taken notice of by ſeveral moderns.

(c) Manetem genere Perſam omnes veteres faciunt. *Aſſem. B. Or. T. i. p.* 122.

(d) T. i. p. 66.

(e) Babylonium fuiſſe docet [Ephraem] infra hymno xiv. *Aſſem. ib.*

(f) Vid. Cellar. Orb. Ant. T. 2. *p.* 755.

(g) Perſa barbare, non Graecorum linguae, —— non ullius alterius linguae ſcientiam habere potuiſti, ſed Chaldaeorum ſolum, &c. *Arch. n.* 36. *p.* 63.

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Sect. II.

I quote two of them in the margin, *(h) Cave*, and *(i) Tollius*.

They ſpeak, as if his name had been derived from the *Greek* noun *mania*, ſignifying madneſſe, or from the verb *mainomai*: and as if his name were the ſame as *maneis*, that is, mad or furious: whereas the name is certainly *Perſic*, or *Chaldaic*. *Euſebe*, formerly quoted, is pleaſed to allude to this imaginarie ſignification of the word. *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* ſays, "he *(k)* changed his name from "*Cubricus* to *Manes*, thinking thereby to "gain honour among the *Perſians*: but di-"vine providence ſo ordered it, that he "thereby affixed to himſelf among the *Greeks* "the

(h) Graeci vero, quo aptiorem irridendi occaſionem arriperent, illud a μανία deducere ſolent. *Cav. H. L. T. i. p.* 140. *f. Oxon.*

(i) Quia vero, Graecis, aut Graeca intelligentibus adverſariis, vox illa Μάνης uberiorem irridendi anſam praebebat, quaſi a Graeco μανία, inſania, ſeu μάνομαι, inſanio, derivata eſſet, et ſic nomen et omen inſaniae Maneti obtigiſſet; tum quod et eadem vox Μάνης ſtupidum ſignificaret, ut apud Ariſtophanem, Μεγάνεμός θ' ὁ Μάνης. Manichaei Manichaeos ſe vocari volebant, quaſi derivato nomine a manahath requies. Nec apud Judaeos iidem contumelia caruerunt, qui omnes impios Manetes appellarunt. &c. *Toll. not. ap. inſign. Ital. p.* 126.

(k) ἡ δὲ τῦ θεῦ οἰκονομία εἰς ἄκουσα αὐτὸν ἑαυτῦ καθήγορον ἐποίει γενέσθαι· ἵνα ἐν περσίδι νομίσας ἑαυτὸν τιμᾶν, παρ' ἕλλησι μανίας ἐπώνυμον ἑαυτὸν καταγγέλλῃ. *Cyr. Cat.* 6. *n.* 24.

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"the character of madneſſe." *Epiphanius* *(l)* has ſomewhat to the like purpoſe. *Titus* of *Boſtra*, who writes the name *Maneis* inſtead of *Manes*, has alſo condeſcended *(m)* to adopt this ſlight thing. For ſo I muſt call it, though it is alſo found in ſo fine a writer as *(n) Photius*. Sect. II.

The poor people were ſo often teaſed with this ſilly fanſie, that, as *Auguſtin* ſays, for that reaſon they *(o)* prolonged the name, and called their maſter *Manichee*, to avoid the reproach of that odious derivation. And ſome of them pretended, that the true way of writing the name was *Mannichee*, denoting one that poured

(l) Haer. 66. *n.* 1. *p.* 617. *C. D.*

(m) ὁ δὲ μανὲὶς ἐκ βαρβάρων, καὶ τῆς μανίας αὐτῆς ἐπώνυμος. *κ. λ. Titus contr. Manich. l. i. in. p.* 60.

(n) Vid. Phot. contr. Man. l. i. c. 12. *p.* 45. 46. 47.

(o) Manichaei a quodam Perſa exſtiterunt, qui vocabatur Manes: quamvis et ipſum, cum ejus inſana doctrina coepiſſet in Graecia praedicari, Manichaeum diſcipuli ejus appellare maluerunt, devitantes nomen inſaniae. Unde quidam eorum quaſi doctiores, et eo ipſo mendaciores, geminata n litera, Mannichaeum vocant, quaſi manna fundentem. *Aug. de. Haer. c.* 46. *in.*

Et per dominum veſtrum Manichaeum, qui manes lingua patria vocabatur. Sed vos, ut apud Graecos nomen inſaniae vitaretis, velut declinato et prolongato nomine, quaſi fuſionem addidiſtis, ubi amplius laberemini. Sic enim mihi quidam veſtrum expoſuit, cur appellatus ſit Manichaeus, ut ſcilicet in Graeca lingua tamquam manna fundere videretur, quia Graece fundi χέειν dicitur. &c. *Contr. Fauſt. l.* 19. *c.* 22.

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down the heavenly bread manna. I have tranſcribed at the bottom of the page two paſſages of *Auguſtin*, where he ſpeaks of this matter. *James Baſnage* in his notes upon *Titus* (*p*) has judiciouſly cenſured both ſides for theſe trifles. One might be apt to think, that (*q*) *Mani*, or *Mane* or *Manes* ſhould be the name of the man, and (*r*) *Manichaeus* denote a follower of him. But the *Greeks* and *Latins* do often uſe (*s*) this laſt for himſelf,

(*p*) —— Ut averterent omen Manetis diſcipuli apud Graecos Manichaeum illum appellabant, eumque velut angelum e coelis μάννα χέουσα, panem coeleſtem, mannam ſcilicet, effundentem referebant. Sic ab utraque parte ludebatur circa nominis etymologiam. Sed futiles admodum ſunt illae obſervationes, quas quiſque ad ſuae partis gloriam trahere conatur. *Baſn. ad Tit. B. p.* 60.

(*q*) Manichaei poſt hos de Perſide a Mane homine —— ita dicto ſurrexerunt. —— *Philaſt. de H. c.* 61. *in.*

(*r*) —— Notabis Manichaeum dici a Leone, quem Manem potius vocare debebat, Μάνης eſt haereſiarcha ipſe, Μανιχαῖος, qui ejus ſectae eſt, et Μανιχαῖον δόγμα. Tamen nunquam aliter a veteribus patribus vocatur, quam Manichaeus, ut Hieronymo, et aliis primae notae ſcriptoribus: quod perinde eſt, ac ſi Marcioniſta pro Marcione diceretur, Valentinianus pro Valentino, Photinianus pro Photino. Neque ſemel Μανιχαῖος et Μάννης pro eodem apud Epiphanium. *Joſ. Scal. Animadv. in Euſ. Chron. p.* 240. *f.*

(*s*) Even in the Acts of *Archelaus* *Mani*'s name is writ both ways, that is, ſometimes he is called *Manes*, at other times *Manichaeus*. I ſhall refer to ſome examples: Et poſt triduo venit ad Manem. *Arch. c.* 6. *p.* 9. Nullum ex nobis

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self, as well as the former. I put in the margin *(t)* a few other obſervations, though of

bis, ô Manes, Galatam facies. *ib. c.* 36. *p.* 62. His auditis, turbae volebant comprehendere Manem. *c.* 55. *p.* 100. Dic mihi illud etiam, ô Manichaee. *c.* 49. *p.* 90. His letter to *Marcellus* is there thus inſcribed: Μανιχαῖῳ, *κ. λ. c.* 5. *p.* 6. In like manner *Epiphanius* uſeth both ways of writing *Mani*'s name.

(t) Suidas ſays: Μάνης, ὄνομα Περσῶν —— κλίνεται Μάνεντος. Which might almoſt induce one to ſuppoſe, that he wrote the name Μανές· for Μάνης, the proper name of a ſlave, is, I think, generally declined Μάνης. In *Titus* this name is always writ Μανές. and he declines, as *Suidas* directs: ὁι χαλεπῶς φερὸς τὸν Μανέντα ἠπαθημένοι. *Tit. B. contr. Man. l. i. p.* 64. *m.* The ſame way of declining is uſed in the form of abjuring Manicheiſm. Ἀναθεματίζω τὸν ληρώδη Μάνεντα μύθον. *ap. Toll. p.* 130. Ἀναθεματίζω τὸν πατέρα Μάνεντα Παλέκιον. *ib. p.* 144. *Epiphanius* declines otherwiſe: ἐκ Μάνη τινός. *H.* 66. *n. i. p.* 617. *C.* ἕως τοῦ Μάνη. *ib. c.* 20. *p.* 637. *D.* μαθητὴ ὄντι τοῦ Μάνη. *ib. c.* 12. *p.* 629. *B.* I add ſome other examples from other authors —— εἰς τὸν Μάνητα. *Thdrt. H. F. l. i. c.* 26. *p.* 213. *D. Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* always writes *Manes*, never *Manichee*. And he declines, as *Epiphanius* —— ἀντὶ τοῦ Κυρίκου Μάνην ἑαυτὸν ἐπωνόμασεν, *Cat.* 6. *n.* 24. καταπάλαισε τὸν Μάνην ὁ Ἀρχέλαος. *ib. n.* 30. —— ἀλλ' ἑνὸς τῶν κακῶν τριῶν τοῦ Μάνη μαθητῶν. *ib. n.* 31. How *Philaſter* declined *Manes*, appears from the begining of his article. See note (*q*). In the Acts of *Archelaus*, where the name is writ *Manes*, in the nominative, and not *Manichaeus*, it is not prolonged in the genitive: Et quomodo de Perſide venientem Manem.—— *Arch. n.* 35. *p.* 61. His auditis, turbae volebant Manem comprehenſum tradere. —— *c.* 55. *p.* 100. —— non ex Mane originem mali hujus manaſſe. *ib. p.* 101. And ſee before note (*s*).

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of no great importance, concerning the different ways of writing this name in several authors. I hope, I need not make any apologie for generally writing his name *Mani (u)* after the people of the East, where he lived. And *Epiphanius* says, that *(x) Mane* was the name he took instead of *Cubricus*.

It is not among the *Greeks*, that we must seek for the original of this name. For *Archelaus* himself says, that *(y) Corbicius* changed his name after the death of the widow, his patroness, at the court of *Persia*. And all the *Greek* writers in general say, that in taking the name *Manes*, he intended to secure himself honour among the *Persians*.

But though the name *Mani* be *Persic* or *Chaldaic*, learned moderns, skilled in the Oriental languages, are not agreed about the original of it. However, it may be observed, that

(u) Les Persans et les Arabes appellent nôtre hereſiarque Mani. —— *Beauſ. Hiſt. Manich. T. i. p. 73. m. and see note (a) p. 116.*

(x) Κύβρικον μὲν τὸ πρῶτον καλούμενον, ἐπωνομάσας δὲ ἑαυτῷ Μάνη ὄνομα. *H. 66. n. i. in.*

(y) Tunc ergo Corbicius, sepulta domina, bonis sibi derelictis omnibus uti coepit, et migravit ad medium civitatis locum, in quo manebat Rex Persarum, et commutato sibi nomine Manem semetipsum pro Corbicio appellavit. *Arch. n. 53. p. 98.*

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that *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem* ſays, *Manes* (z) in the *Perſian* language ſignifyes diſcourſe or eloquence: and that he changed his name from *Cubricus* to *Manes*, partly to obliterate the memorie of his ſervitude, partly for the ſake of gaining the reputation of a good ſpeaker. This is taken up by (a) *Photius*, and others. *Epiphanius* ſays, that (b) *Mane* in the *Babylonian* language ſignifyes veſſel or inſtrument. *Ephrem* the *Syrian* (c) ſeems to refer to this notion of the word: which is alſo approved by *Aſſeman*. And it may be ſuppoſed to be alluded to in (d) the Acts of *Archelaus*.

(z) Εἶτα, ἵνα μὴ τὸ τῆς δυλείας ὄνομα ἐπονείδιστον ᾖ, ἀλλὰ τῷ Κυβρίκῃ Μάνην ἑαυτὸν ἐπωνόμασεν, ἅπερ καλὰ τὴν Περσῶν διάλεκτον τὴν ὁμιλίαν δηλοῖ· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ διαλεκτικὸς ἐδόκει τις εἶναι, Μάνην ἑαυτὸν ἐπωνόμασεν, ὡσεὶ ὁμιλητήν τινα ἄριστα. κ. λ. *Cyr. Cat.* 6. *n.* 24.

(a) Δηλοῖ δὲ τοῦτο περισσῶς γλάφυρα τὸν οἷον ὁμιλητικὸν, καὶ πρὸς διάλεξιν δραστήριον. *Ph. contr. Man. l. i. c.* 12. *p.* 45.

(b) Τὸ γὰρ Μάνη ἀπὸ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνίδα μεταφερόμενον σκεῦος ἀποφαίνει τ' ὄνομα. *H.* 66. *n. i. p.* 617. *C. D.*

(c) Manes, Chaldaicum nomen, vas, veſtem, inſtrumentum quodlibet ſignificat. Huc ſpectat quod S. Ephraem hoc loco ſcribit: Manetem diabolus tamquam propria induit veſte, ut eo, velut inſtrumento ſuo abuteretur, ſuaque per ipſum promeret oracula. *Aſſem. Bib. Or. T. i. p.* 119.

(d) Vas es Antichriſti, et neque bonum vas, ſed ſordidum et indignum. *Arch. c.* 36. *p.* 62.

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Archelaus. Nor does *Hyde* deny, that *(e)* *Mân* or *Mana*, in *Assyrian* and *Chaldee*, signifyes vessel.

I shall not concern myself about other derivations, or significations of this name: but only refer to some *(f)* authors, where they may be seen by those who are curious.

Whatever was the meaning of the name, as *(g)* *Beausobre* observes, it certainly was very honorable: and, if it signified any thing, there is reason to think, it denoted some advantageous quality. For *(h)* divers Kings of *Edessa* were named *Manes* or *Maanes*. And *Asseman* says, that *(i)* it was a common name of the Princes of *Syria* and *Arabia*.

It is sayd, that *Mani*'s father's name was *Patitius* or *Patecius*, and his mother's name *Carossa*.

(e) Verum quidem est, quod in lingua Assyriaca et Chaldaica Mân seu Manâ sit Vas. *De Rel. V. Pers. p.* 281. *in.*

(f) *Vid. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. v. p.* 281. 282. *Hyde de Rel. Vet. Pers. p.* 281. *Le Moyne Var. Sacr. p,* 634. *Joseph. Scal. Animadv. in Euseb. Chron. p.* 240. 241. *Touttée ad Cyr. Cat.* 6. *n.* 24. *Beausobr. Hist. de Manich. T. i. p.* 70—74. *Jac. Basn. ad Tit. Bostr. l. i. p.* 60.

(g) *T. i. p.* 73.

(h) *Vid. Chron. Edess. ap. Asseman. Bib. Or. T. i. p.* 418. 419. *&c.*

(i) Maanus, nomen tum Syris tum Arabibus principibus familiare. *Assem. ib. p.* 418.

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Caroſſa. Their names are in the *(k)* Form of abjuring Manicheiſm, and in *(l) Hyde. Cave (m)* has *Patricius*, by miſtake probably. But the thing is of no importance.

The *Greek* writers continually repreſent *Mani* as a ſlave, purchaſed by a widow, and afterwards ſet at liberty. This we have already ſeen in *Socrates*, with whom others agree. This is one thing, with which *(n) Cyril* upbraids him: though he at the ſame time owns, that it is no real ſcandal. If he was once poor, and a ſlave; he obtained his liberty, and came to the poſſeſſion of a great eſtate by that time he was twelve years of age. According to *(o) Archelaus*, and *(p) Cyril*,

(k) ἀναθεματίζω τὸν παλαιὸν μάνεντα παλαιόν, καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ μητέρα κάρουαν. *ap. Toll. Inſign. p.* 144.

(l) Ille —— apud Shahriſtanium vocatur Manes ibn Phaten doctus ſeu Philoſophus. At pro Phaten legendum Phatec. Nam pater fuit Πατέκιος, et mater Κάρουα. *Hyde ib. p.* 280.

(m) —— patre Patricio, matre Caroſſa natus. *H. L. T. i. p.* 140. *b.*

(n) —— τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ πάμπολλα κακὰ, μέμνησο πρῶτον τὴν βλασφημίαν· δεύτερον, τὴν δουλείαν· οὐχ ὅτι αἰσχύνη ἡ δουλεία, κ. τ. λ. *Cat. 6. n.* 26.

(o) —— comparavit ſibi puerum annorum fere ſeptem, Corbicium nomine, quem ſtatim manumiſit, ac literis erudivit. Quique cum duodecim annorum eſſet effectus, anus illa diem obiit, ipſique univerſa bona ſua tradidit. *Arch. n.* 53. *p.* 97.

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Sect II. *(p) Cyril*, the widow, that purchaſed him for a ſlave, ſoon ſet him at liberty, adopted him for her ſon, gave him a good education, and in the end made him her heir.

But I think it may be queſtioned, whether *Mani* ever was a ſlave. For there is no notice taken of it in the *Eaſtern* writers: and even the *Greek* authors ſpeak of him as rich, learned, educated among Philoſophers, and at the court of *Perſia* in his early age. *Manes* among the *Greeks* was a common name for *(q)* ſlaves. And one may be almoſt apt to think, that this gave occaſion for the common opinion of the *Greek* writers concerning *Mani*'s ſervitude.

The Eaſtern authors, cited by *(r) Hyde* and *(s) Herbelot*, ſay, that *Mani* was a painter and

(p) Καὶ τοῦτον εἰς υἱοθεσίαν λαβοῦσα, ἐπαίδευσε τοῖς περσῶν μαθήμασιν ὡς υἱὸν —— ἡ κύριος· ὁ καλὸς ἀνέτης εἰς μέσον φιλοσόφων ἤκμασε καὶ τελευτησάσης τῆς χήρας ἐκληρονόμησε καὶ τὰ βιβλία καὶ τὰ χρήματα. *Cat.* 6. *n.* 24.

(q) Μανῆς γάρ ἐστι δοῦλος. *Ariſtoph. Av. ver.* 1329. *et paſſim.* Τελοῦσιν ἔφη, οἱ Μάνης μὲν χωρὶς Διογένης ζῇ· Διογένης δὲ χωρὶς Μάνη οὐ δύναται. *Diog. Laert. l.* 6. *n.* 55. *Vid. Menag. in locum, et in l.* 5. *n.* 55. *Conf. Senec. de Tranq. Anim. c.* 8. *Vid. et Suid. V.* Μάνης. *cum Kaſteri notis, et Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. v. p.* 281, 282.

(r) Manes Perſa, in eorum libris dictus Mani pictor. Nam talis fuit profeſſione ſua. *Hyde ubi ſupra, c.* 21. *p.* 280.

(s) Mani. Manes —— étoit peintre et graveur de ſa profeſſion. *Herbelot Bib. Orient.*

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and engraver by profeſſion. What uſe he is ſayd to have made of his ſkill in painting, will be ſeen hereafter. Sect. II.

It is ſayd by the ſame writers, quoted both by *(t) Hyde*, and *(u) Herbelot*, that he had ſo fine a hand, as to draw lines, and make circles without rule or compaſſe. And he made a terreſtrial globe with all it's circles and diviſions.

It may be argued, that *Mani* was ſkilful in the ſcience of aſtronomie, becauſe *Epiphanius* ſays, he *(x)* wrote a book of aſtrologie, and that his followers boaſted of their underſtanding in aſtronomie.

Auguſtin too ſays, that *(y)* the Manichean writings

(t) Orientales aiunt, quod ex pictoriae artis qua excellebat ſuperbia elatus ſe prophetam venditaret. Ferunt eum potuiſſe ad 20. ulnarum longitudinem ducere lineam, in qua applicando normam nulla curvitas deprehendi potuit. *Hyde ib. p. 282. m.*

(u) Ce Manes ſçavoit faire quelques preſtiges, et avoit la main ſi juſte, qu' il tiroit des lignes, et decrivoit des cercles ſans regle et ſans compas. Il fit auſſi un globe terreſtre avec tous ſes cercles et ſes diviſions. *Herbelot ib.*

(x) —— ἄλλην δὲ τὴν περὶ ἀστρολογίας· ἐ γὰρ ἀποδέυσι τῆς τοιάυτης περιεργίας, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἀυτοῖς ἐν προχέρῳ χαυχήματος προκειται ἀστρονομία. *Haer. 66. n. 13. p. 629. D.*

(y) Libri quoque eorum pleni ſunt longiſſimis fabulis, de coelo et ſideribus et ſole et luna : —— quae tamen ubi conſideranda

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writings were filled with a fabulous philoſophie about the heavens and the ſtars, and the ſun and moon. *Fauſtus* however, the Manichean Biſhop, did not concern himſelf with thoſe ſpeculations: which, I think, is to his honour, and ſeems to ſhew, that as among other ſects, ſo among them likewiſe, there were doctrines, maintained by ſome, which the wiſer and more underſtanding did not conſider as eſſential parts of their ſcheme, or at all belonging to it.

Beauſobre (z) has ſhewn it to be probable, that *Mani* believed, our earth to have two hemiſpheres, an upper and a lower, both inhabited; and conſequently, that there are Antipodes. He collects as much from ſome things ſayd in the *(a)* Acts of *Archelaus*. And he refers to a paſſage of *Coſmas Indicopleuſtes*,

deranda et diſcutienda protuli, modeſte ſane ille nec auſus eſt ſubire ipſam ſarcinam. Noverat enim ſe iſta non noſſe, nec eum puduit confiteri. Non erat de talibus, quales multos loquaces paſſus eram, conantes eam docere, et dicentes nihil. Iſte vero cor habebat, etſi non rectum ad te, nec tamen nimis incautum ad ſeipſum. *Conf. l. 5. c. 7. n. 12.*

(z) Hiſt. de Manich. T. 2. p. 374 — 376.

(a) Καὶ πάλιν εἰσὶν ἕτεροι κόσμοι τινὲς, τῶν ῥωγῆρων δυνάντων ἀπὸ τότε τῦ κόσμυ, ἐξ ὧν ἀνατέλλυσι. *Arch. c. 9. p. 17.* Καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι πάντες ῥίζας ἔχυσι, κάτω συνδεθέισας τοῖς ἄνω. *ib. c. 8. p. 14. Conf. Lactant. Inſtit. l. 3. c. 24.*

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Indicopleuſtes, who ſays, that *(b)* the Manicheans are of much the ſame opinion with the *Greeks*, and believe, as they do, that the heaven is ſpherical.

Shariſtani, an *Arabian* author in *Hyde*, calls *Mani* (*c*) a learned man, and a Philoſopher: and another author of the ſame countrey ſays, *(d)* that *Mani* wrote a ſyſtem of philoſophie, and invented a muſical inſtrument, called by the *Arabians* Oud.

Beauſobre argues, that (*e*) *Mani* was ſkilled in medicine. But he has no direct evidence. It is not expreſsly ſayd by the *Greek* or Eaſtern writers. And *Beauſobre* does not give credit to the ſtorie of his attempt to cure the King of *Perſia*'s ſon. I therefore leave that a doubtful point.

But *Mani* was learned. This appears from all the particulars juſt mentioned, and from what is ſayd by the *Greek* writers of the literarie

(b) Μανιχαῖοι παραπλήσια τοῖς ἕλλησι φρονοῦντες, τὸν τε οὐρανὸν καὶ αὐτοὶ σφαιροειδῆ νομίζοντες, κ. λ. *Coſm. l.* 6. *p.* 271. *B.*

(c) apud Shahriſtanium —— Manes ibn Phaten doctus, ſeu philoſophus. *Hyde*, *p.* 280.

(d) Ibn Shahna dicit Manetem ſcripſiſſe philoſophiam, quam vertit in linguam Perſicam: eumque extitiſſe auctorem inſtrumenti muſici dicti Arabibus Oud, id eſt, Teſtudo, Chelys. *ib. p.* 280.

(e) *T. i. p.* 81. 82.

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and philoſophical *(f)* education beſtowed upon him by the good widow, into whoſe hands he came. And in the Acts of *Archelaus* he is ſpoken of, as *(g)* if he was equal to the moſt knowing among the *Perſians*, or was the firſt man of his time among them for learning.

I ſhall now tranſlate a long article in *Herbelot*, taken from Eaſtern authors, who ſay, "that *(h)* *Mani* having gained ſome eſteem "began to gather together a number of peo- "ple, in the character of diſciples, who op- "poſed the worſhip and ceremonies of the "religion of *Zoroaſter*, which the *Perſians* "profeſſed at that time. This novelty hav- "ing occaſioned ſome diſturbances, *Sapor* "would have had him puniſhed: But *Mani*, "perceiving that he was ſought for, fled "and retired into *Turkeſtan*. Here he had "full ſcope to ſpread his notions among an "ignorant ſort of people, and make himſelf "paſs among them for a wonderful man, "or even a god. Having found a cave "where was a fine ſpring, he got ſome pro- "viſions,

(f) —— εἰς μέσον φιλοσόφων ἤκμαζε. *Cyr. Cat.* 6. *n.* 24.

(g) —— eruditus ſecundum doctrinam, quae in locis illis eſt, et pene dixerim ſuper omnem hominem. *Arch. n.* 53. *p.* 98.

(h) *Vid Herbelot. Bib. Or. v. Mani.*

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" viſions, ſufficient for a year, to be lodged " there. And then he told his diſciples, " that he was about to take a journey to " heaven, and that they would be a whole " year without ſeeing him: after which time " he would come down again from heaven, " and appear in a certain cave, which he " told them of.

" At the end of the year they failed not to " look for him, and found him at the ap- " pointed place. Then he ſhewed them " that wonderful book, filled with uncom- " mon images and figures, and called *Er-* " *genk* and *Eſtenk*, which he ſayd he had " brought from heaven. This new impoſ- " ture greatly encreaſed the number of his " followers, who all went from *Turkeſtan* " into *Perſia* upon the death of *Sapor*.

" *Hormiſdas* having ſucceeded his father " *Sapor*, uſed *Mani* very kindly. He even " embraced his ſect, and built him a caſtle " for his ſecurity.

" *Baharam*, or *Varanes*, ſucceeding his " father *Hormiſdas*, appeared in the begining " of his reign to favor *Mani*. But hav- " ing got him out of his caſtle, under a " pretenſe of diſputing with the doctors of " the Zoroaſtrian ſect, he ſoon after flayed

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" him alive, filled his ſkin with chaff, and " had it hung up in a conſpicuous place to " terrify thoſe of his ſect. Whereupon the " greateſt part of his followers fled into *India*, " and ſome even to *China*. All that ſtayed " in *Perſia* loſt their liberty, and were re- " duced to ſervitude."

The ſame ſtorie is told in *(i) Hyde* from the ſame hiſtorian *Condemir* or *Khondemir*, with only ſome few variations. As *Hyde*'s book is not very common, I have tranſcribed his words at the bottom of the page.

I think,

(i) Perſarum hiſtoricus Chondemir narrat, quod Manes, Saducaeus, fuit egregius pictor et ſculptor: qui poſtquam audierat quod Jeſus ſe miſſurum paracletum declaraſſet, diabolus lapideae cordis ejus tabulae inſculpſit ſuggeſtionem, ipſum eſſe dictum paracletum. Quod tempore Shabur filii Ardeſhir Babecan prophetiam jactabat: cumque Shabar eum interficere quaereret, aufugit in Turkiſtan, ubi multos ſeduxit. Poſtea ibi inveniens ſpeluncam, ubi optimae aquae fons erat, ibi clanculum repoſuit annonam ad unius anni ſpatium duraturam, et aſſeclis ſuis praetendebat, ſe ad coelum aſcenſurum, et poſt unius anni ſpatium ſe rurſus ad eos deſcenſurum. Quocirca ſeipſum ab eis ſubducens, in dictam ſpeluncam abiit, ibique ad praeſtitutum tempus permanſit. Et deinde rurſus comparens, produxit tabulas egregie pictas, quas Ertengh-Mani vocant, affirmans ſe eas a coelo accepiſſe: unde plurimi ei fidem adhibuere. Deinde in Perſidem feſtinans Regem Behram ad ſuam religionem invitavit. Et quidem Rex fuit ex primis qui ejus dictis fidem adhibuit. Et cum aſſeclae ejus multi evaderent, Magorum doctoribus praecepit, ut cum eo diſputarent. At tandem omnes qui ſervitio ejus addicti erant, Regis Behram juſſu occiſi ſunt, et fervor ejus ignis hoc modo extinctus. *Hyde de Rel. V. Perſ. cap.* 21. *p.* 282, 283.

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I think it may be beſt to make here a few remarks, omitting others, which might be mentioned, and poſſibly may be remembred at another time.

1. The Eaſtern authors, quoted in *Hyde*'s and *Herbelot*'s collections, are not ancient, but rather modern. For they are either Mahometans, or Chriſtians of late times.

2. The Eaſtern writers declare *Mani* to have been a Chriſtian. It ſeems to be implyed in *Khondemir*'s account, as it ſtands in *Herbelot*. But it is plainly intimated at the begining of his article in *Hyde*. And *Shariſtani*, cited by *Hyde*, ſays: that *(k) Mani* received the prophecie or religion of Jeſus, but not that of Moſes.

3. The Eaſtern writers agree with the *Greeks* in repreſenting *Mani* an impoſtor, or one that pretended to prophecie and inſpiration.

4. If theſe writers are to be relyed upon, *Mani* emproved his ſkill in painting for gaining, or ſupporting the reputation of his being a Prophet, or ſome extraordinarie perſon. This is more than once taken notice

(k) —— Ille amplexus eſt religionem inter Magiſmum et Chriſtianiſmum, aſſerens prophetiam Chriſti, ſed non aſſerens prophetiam Moſis. *apud Hyde, p.* 282.

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of (*l*) by *Hyde*, who likewiſe ſpeaks particularly (*m*) of the painted, finely figured book of his revelations, called *Ertengh*.

5. According to the Eaſtern, as well as the *Greek* writers, *Mani* was put to death by a King of *Perſia*. So *Khondemir* before tranſcribed. And (*n*) ſo likewiſe *Shariſtani*. But the *Perſian* and *Arabian* authors make *Mani*'s death owing to his zeal for religious principles, or the diſturbances occaſioned thereby. Thus *Khondemir*, as we have ſeen. And *Hyde* ſays, it (*o*) is certain, that *Varanes* put to death the dualiſts, or thoſe who maintained two principles, and hung up *Mani* at the gate of the city. Theſe writers ſay nothing of *Mani*'s having occaſioned the death of the King of *Perſia*'s ſon. They ſeem not to

(*l*) Orientales aiunt, quod ex pictoriae artis, qua excellebat ſuperbia elatus, ſe prophetam venditavit. *ib. p.* 282.

(*m*) Utcunque tamen fuerit, impius iſte Mani, cum eſſet profeſſione pictor, impiorum ſuorum dogmatum librum, ut ſpecioſior appareret oculis, et eo nomine multo gratior eſſet, eleganter qua potuit pinxit, et varii generis picturis ornavit et decoravit, et Perſice illum vocavit Ertengh, vel abbreviate Tengh —— ibi intelligendum eſt Manetis Evangelium pictum, ſeu Ertengh ſc. picturarum liber, in quo dogmata ſua et revelationes ſcripſit. *ib. p.* 281. 282.

(*n*) Shahriſtani in libro de Religionibus Orientis de eo refert: Mani apparuit tempore Shabur filii Ardeſhir, et occidit eum Behram filius Hormuz filii Shabur. *ib. p.* 282.

(*o*) Sic ille; nam Rex Behram interfecit dualiſtas, et Manetem in porta urbis crucifixit. *p.* 283.

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to have had any the leſt knowledge of that matter.

6. I muſt take notice of a miſtake of theſe writers. For according to them the place of *Mani*'s retirement was *China*: where likewiſe, they ſay, he had ſeveral churches finely painted. But *(p) Hyde* ſays, they muſt, or ſhould mean *Turkeſtan*. For *Mani* never was in *China*. This we ſhould not have been able to perceive from *Herbelot*, who ſeems to have concealed and diſguiſed this miſtake of his authors. He declares indeed, that they ſpeak of *Mani*'s followers going into *India* and *China* after his death. But as for the place of his retirement, when he fled from *Sapor*, one would have thought that they had called it *Turkeſtan*, whereas it ſeems they name *China*. This may be collected from *Hyde*, and muſt leſſen the credit and authority of thoſe writers.

Perhaps ſome may ſuſpect, that by *China* thoſe writers mean what we call *Turkeſtan*.

(p) Apud Ruſtemi epitomatorem legitur. —— *Tchigil eſt picturarum domus Chinenſis, ſcil. illud delubrum, quod in regno Chinae Manes magiſter pinxit.* Quod autem dicunt de China, intelligendum eſt de Turkiſtan, ubi Manes commoratus eſt. Et ibidem eſt alia eccleſia dicta Ghalbila, quam Manes picturis ornavit. Et ibi eſt urbs Tchigil. Ille enim nunquam fuit in China. *Hyde p.* 281.

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To which I anſwer: If ſo, this remark is of no value. But I am confirmed in the perſuaſion of it's ſolidity by a paſſage of *Abulpharagius*, who ſays, that *(q) Mani* ſent his twelve diſciples into all the countreys of the Eaſt, even as far as *India* and *China*: where by *China* he muſt, I think, mean the ſame countrey that we call by that name. But if he does, very probably it is a miſtake.

Turkeſtan (*r*) is ſayd to be a countrey, containing ſeveral provinces, or ſmall kingdoms. It is ſituated on the Eaſt of the *Caſpian Sea*, and borders upon *Sogdiana*.

Time of Manicheiſm.

II. I now proceed to what I formerly propoſed to do in this place, which is to ſettle the time of the riſe of the Manichean ſect: or, if that cannot be done, to ſhew at leſt the ſentiments of ancients and moderns about it.

We have already ſeen the ſentiments of two

(*q*) Deinde a fide deſciſſens, ſeipſum meſſiam nominavit, et duodecim diſcipulos ſibi adſcitos in omnes Orientis regiones, Indiam uſque et Sinam miſit, qui in ipſis doctrinam Thanawiorum ſeminarent; ſc. duos eſſe in mundo deos. —— *Abulph. Dynaſt. p.* 82.

(*r*) *See Beauſobre T. i. p.* 187. *See likewiſe the article of Turkeſtan in Herbelot's Bibliotheque Orientale.*

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two learned ancients. *Euſebe* (*s*) or *Jerome*, ſayd, that Manicheiſm aroſe in the ſecond year of *Probus*, the year of Chriſt 277. *Socrates* (*t*) not long before the reign of *Conſtantin*. I ſhall now ſhew the ſentiments of divers others.

Jerome elſewhere ſays, it (*u*) is certain, that the Manicheans appeared before the Council of *Nice*.

Auguſtin, that (*x*) this ſect did not ariſe until after *Tertullian*, and even after *Cyprian*. In another place he ſays, that (*y*) *Cyprian* obtained the crown of martyrdom, before Manicheiſm was at all known in the Roman Empire. It is likely, that *Auguſtin* thought, he

(*s*) *p.* 19.

(*t*) *p.* 21. 22.

(*u*) Alioqui hoc argumento, —— nec Marcion, nec Cataphryges, nec Manichaeus damnari debent: quia *S*ynodus Nicoena eos non nominat: quos certe ante *S*ynodum fuiſſe non dubium eſt. *Hieron. ad Pamm. et Ocean. Ep.* 41. *al.* 65. *p.* 344. *in.*

(*x*) Nam conſtat, non ſolum poſt Tertullianum, verum etiam poſt Cyprianum, hanc haereſim exortam. *Aug. contr. Fauſt. l.* 13. *c.* 4. *in.* Ecce praedicatiſſimus tractator divinorum eloquiorum [Cyprianus] antequam terras noſtras vel tenuiſſimus odor Manichaeae peſtilentiae tetigiſſet. *Id. Contr. duas Ep. Pelag. l.* 4. *c.* 8. *n.* 24.

(*y*) —— numquid et glorioſiſſimae coronae Cyprianus dicetur ab aliquo, non ſolum fuiſſe, ſed vel eſſe potuiſſe Manichaeus, cum prius iſte ſit paſſus, quam illa in orbe Romano peſtis apparuit? *De Nuptiis et Concup. l.* 2. *c.* 29. *n.* 51.

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he ſpoke within compaſſe. However, if we ſhould not be able to be more exact than this, with full certainty; it is of importance to be aſſured, that as this ſect evidently appeared in the Roman Empire before the Council of *Nice*, ſo it did not ariſe in the world, until after *Cyprian*, who was ordained Biſhop about the year of Chriſt 248, and obtained the crown of martyrdom in 258.

In the Acts of *Archelaus (z)* the reign of *Probus* is ſeveral times mentioned, as the time of *Mani*'s appearing, or the time of the Diſpute with him, ſoon after which he was put to death.

Cyril of *Jeruſalem*, who wrote his Catechetical Lectures about the year 347. obſerves, that *(a)* the Manichean hereſie aroſe not very long ago, about ſeventy years, and that there were then men living, who had ſeen *Mani*. In another place he ſpeaks *(b)* of *Mani*'s not appearing till the Apoſtles had been dead two hundred years. *Touttee* ſuppoſes

(z) —— ſub Probo demum Romano imperatore. —— *Arch. n.* 27. *p.* 46. *vid. n.* 28. *init.*

(a) —— τὸν πρώην ἐπὶ πρόβε βασιλέως ἀρξάμενον· πρὸ γὰρ ὅλων ἑβδομήκοντα ἐτῶν ἡ πλάνη· καὶ εἰσὶ μέχρι τῦ νῦν ἄνθρωποι αὐτοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς θεωρήσαντες ἐκεῖνον. *Cat.* 6. *n.* 20.

(b) Ἆρα οἱ τελευτήσαντες ἀπόστολοι ἀπὸ διακοσίων ἐτῶν ἐξεδέχοντο μάνην ——; *Cat.* 16. *n.* 9.

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poſes *Cyril* to mean the year of Chriſt 277. which was the ſecond of *Probus:* And that he computed the apoſtolic age to have ended about the year of Chriſt 77. It may be alſo ſuppoſed, that *Cyril* took his date of Manicheiſm from the Acts of *Archelaus*, where *Mani*'s coming is placed under the Emperour *Probus*.

Epiphanius is not conſiſtent with himſelf, placing *Mani* earlyer at one time, than at another. In one of his works he ſays, that (*c*) *Mani* came from *Perſia*, and diſputed with *Archelaus* in the ninth of *Valerian* and *Gallien*; that is, in the year of our Lord 261. or 262. which date is alſo in (*d*) *Photius*. But in his work againſt hereſies *Epiphanius* ſometimes mentions (*e*) the fourth of *Aurelian*, that is, the year 273. or 274. at other times (*f*) the reigns of *Aurelian* and *Probus*,

(*c*) —— ἐν τῷ ἐννάτῳ ἔν ἔτει τῆς τέτων βασιλείας ἀνέβη μάνης ἀπὸ τῆς περσίδος, κ. λ. *De Menſ. et Pond. c.* 20. *p.* 176. *A.*

(*d*) *Contr. Manich. l.* 1. *c.* 15. *in.*

(*e*) περὶ ἔτος τέταρτον τῆς αὐτῦ [ἀυρηλιανῦ] βασιλείας. *Haer.* 66. *c. i. in.*

(*f*) ἕως τῦ χρόνυ τῦ προδηλωθέντος ἀυρηλιανῦ τε καὶ πρόβυ, ἐν ᾧ ἔτος ὁ μάνης ἐγνωρίζετο. κ. λ. *ib. c.* 19. *f. vid. et n.* 20. *p.* 637. *D.* Πρόβος δὲ ἦν ὁ κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιρὸ βασιλεὺς, καὶ ἀυρηλιανὸς ὁ πρὸ αὐτῦ, ὅτε ἔτος ὁ μάνης ἐνεδήμει. *ib. n.* 77. *in.*

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Probus, that is, about the year 276. Moreover *Epiphanius*, who wrote about the year 376. ſays, he *(g)* had converſed with perſons, who were acquainted with *Hermias*, diſciple of *Mani*.

Pope *Leo (h)* placeth the riſe of Manicheiſm in the Conſulate of *Probus* and *Paulinus*, or the year 277.

In the *Edeſſen* Chronicle *(i)* publiſhed by *Aſſeman*, *Mani*'s birth is placed at the year of our Lord 240. a thing not mentioned, that we know of, any where *(k)* elſe.

Alexander of *Lycopolis* mentions it as a common report, that *(l) Mani* lived in the time of the Emperour *Valerian*; [who was taken

(g) ἐκ ἔτι γὰρ ἀρχαίζουσα ἡ αἵρεσις, καὶ οἱ συντετυχηκότες τῷ προειρημένῳ ἑρμείᾳ, μαθητῇ ὄντι τοῦ μάνη, ἡμῖν τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν διηγήσαντο. *H.* 66. *n.* 12.

(h) Manichaeus ergo magiſter falſitatis diabolicae, et conditor ſuperſtitionis obſcoenae, eo tempore damnandus innotuit, —— Probo Imperatore Paulinoque Conſulibus. *Leo Hom.* 2. *de Pentec. cap.* 7.

(i) Anno quingenteſimo quinquageſimo primo natus eſt Manes. *Chr. Ed. ap. Aſſem. Bib. Orient. T. i. p.* 393.

(k) —— natus enim fuit juxta Chronicon noſtrum anno Graecorum 551. Chriſti 240. quod nemini hactenus de ejus natali obſervatum. *Aſſem. ib. in notis.*

(l) αὐτὸς ἐπὶ οὐαλεριανοῦ μὲν γεγονέναι λέγεται, συστρατεῦσαι τε σαφῶς τῷ πέρσῃ· προσκρίσαντα δέ τι τούτῳ ἀπολωλέναι. *Alex. lyc. p.* 4. *A.*

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taken captive by the *Perſians* in (*m*) the year 259.] that he went to the wars with *Sapor* King of *Perſia*, and having by ſome means diſpleaſed the King was put to death by him.

Having put down ſo many accounts from ancient authors, I ſhall now mention the opinions of moderns.

The general opinion, as *Aſſeman* owns, is, that (*n*) *Mani* diſputed with *Archelaus* in the year 277. and dyed in 278. To the like purpoſe (*o*) *Tillemont*, and (*p*) *Baſnage*, and others. And *Zaccagni* obſerves, that (*q*) whereas *Epiphanius* in the work, firſt quoted above, placed the diſpute of *Archelaus* and *Mani* in the ninth of *Valerian* and *Gallien*, he afterwards followed a later date in his work againſt all hereſies, having then obtained

(*m*) *Vid. Pagi Crit. in Bar.* 259. *n.* 7. *et ſeqq. Baſnag. Ann.* 259. *n.* 3.

(*n*) Deinde communior fert ſcriptorum opinio, eam diſputationem anno Chriſti 277. Manetis interitum anno 278. accidiſſe. *Bib. Or. T.* 3. *P.* 2. *p.* 45.

(*o*) *Mem. Ec. T.* 4. *Les Manicheens, Art.* 7. *et* 12. *et note v.*

(*p*) *Ann.* 277. *n.* 3. *etc. Vid. Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. v. p.* 262. 281.

(*q*) Dicendum itaque eſt, Epiphanium in libro de Menſuris et ponderibus erraſſe, et multo certiora de Manichaeorum haereſis exortu in libris adverſus haereſes nobis tradidiſſe, licet in eiſdem quoque libris iterum ſibi non conſtare deprehendatur. *Zaccagn. Pr. x.* 8. *p.* 9.

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ed better information. But *Asseman* (*r*) prefers the first account of *Epiphanius*, followed by *Photius* and others: though then, if *Mani* was born in 240. he must have finished his course, when he was little more than twenty years of age: which, surely, must appear improbable to most persons.

Tillemont never saw the *Edessen* Chronicle. But having taken notice of what *Alexander* says of *Mani*'s living in the time of *Valerian*, he adds, that (*s*) in order to reconcile him with *Jerome*'s Chronicle, we may suppose *Mani* to have been in an advanced age in 277. when he was put to death. And then he may easily have gained reputation in *Persia* before the year 260.

Beausobre does not disallow it to be probable, that (*t*) Manicheism began to be known in

(*r*) Hujus haereseos initium accurate describitur a S. Epiphanio lib. de Mensuris et Ponderibus. *Assem. Bib. Or. T. i. p.* 393. *not.* 2. Atqui ex Epiphanio, Photio, et Petro Siculo, Manes ex Persarum carceribus in Mesopotamiam anno Gallieni nono, id est, Christi 261. aufugit. Anno igitur sequenti, vel ad summum anno 263. dignas impietatis suae poenas persolvit; idque anno aetatis suae circiter vigesimo tertio, si auctori Chronici Edesseni credendum, qui illum, ut supra dixi, natum scribit anno Christi 240. *Assem. ib. T.* 3. *P.* 2. *p.* 45.

(*s*) *Les Manicheens. Note v. fin.*

(*t*) *See Beauf. Vol. i. p.* 121. 122.

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in the Roman Empire about the year 277. the time fixed in *Jerome*'s Chronicle. But it may have ariſen (*u*) eight or ten years ſooner in *Perſia*. Nor is it, he ſays, very improbable, that (*x*) *Mani* might be author of a new ſect by that time he was thirty years of age. For more he could not be, admitting the authority of the *Edeſſen* Chronicle concerning the time of his birth, as *Beauſobre* does. Nay he ſuppoſeth, that (*y*) *Mani* might make a figure in 267.

Touttee obſerves, that (*z*) ſince *Cyril* ſays, in

(*u*) J'explique tous ces paſſages, non du tems de la naiſſance du Manicheiſme, qui avoit commencé en Perſe environ dix ans auparavant, mais du tems, ou cette hereſie commença de faire du bruit dans l' Empire. *Beauſ. T. i. p.* 123.

(*x*) Je ne voi point de raiſon aſſez forte, pour rejetter le temoignage de la Chronique d' Edeſſe, ſur le tems de la naiſſance de Manes. —— Or ce prince [Sapor] étant mort en l' année 271. ou en 272. il ne pouvoit avoir alors que trente-deux, ou trente trois ans. Il eſt vrai encore, que l' on peut être ſurpris que Manes ſoit devenu chef de ſecte, étant encore ſi jeune. Mais ces raiſons ne ſauroient balancer le temoignage d' un auteur Syrien, ou Meſopotamien, qui paroit bien inſtruit des faits, qui ſe ſont paſſez en Orient. *Beauſ. T. i. p.* 65.

(*y*) J'en ai marqué le tems à l'année deux cens ſoixante ſept, en quoi j'ai ſuivi Apulpharage, qui temoigne, qu' elle parût ſous Aurelien. *ib. p.* 186. *in.*

(*z*) Is eſt annus 277. a Chriſti nativitate. Non eſſe in anteriora

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in his time there were perſons living, who had ſeen *Mani*, we cannot reaſonably place the Diſpute with him before the year 277. at which time his hereſie was firſt brought into the Roman Empire, and in the following year he was put to death. Which, I think, cannot be denyed by thoſe, who have any regard for the Acts of *(a) Archelaus*.

Cave therefore is ſomewhat ſingular, when he ſays, that *(b) Mani* began to ſpread his notions in 277. and *(c)* lived to near the end of that centurie. And yet he may be thought to have ſome reaſon for that ſuppoſition, when it is recollected, that in *Cyril*'s time there were ſome who had ſeen *Mani*, in *Epiphanius*'s ſome who had converſed with his diſciple *Hermias*, provided thoſe authors may be depended upon.

Pagi

riora tempora retrahendum Manetis exortum argumento eſt id quod Cyrillus ſubjicit, fuiſſe adhuc ſuo tempore ſuperſtites, qui Manetem ipſi ſuis oculis conſpexiſſent. Quod autem ſub Probo innotuit Manes, intelligendum de ejus in Meſopotamiam et Romanorum imperium adventu, qui uno tantum anno ejus necem anteceſſit. *Toutt. ad Cyr. Cat.* 6. *p.* 99. *not.* 3.

(*a*) *Vid. Arch. n.* 55. *p.* 100.

(b) Haereſin ſuam diſſeminare coepit circa ann. 277. Probi imperatoris anno ſecundo. *H. L. T. i. p.* 139. *in Manete.*

(*c*) Inſaniae ſuae virus non ante annum 277. propinare coepit Manes, et plures poſtea annos in vivis erat, ac proinde ad exitum vergente hoc ſaeculo Agapium ſibi diſcipulum adſcivit. *Cav. Diſſ. de Script. incertae aet. ſub. in.*

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Pagi approves *(d)* of the date in *Jerome*'s Chronicle, but ſays, that according to the ſucceſſe and progreſſe of this doctrine in ſeveral places authors have ſpoken differently concerning the time of it.

For my own part, I think it very difficult to determine exactly the time of the riſe of Manicheiſm in *Perſia*, or of it's firſt appearance in the Roman Empire. And I am apt to think, that moſt conſiderate perſons may be in ſuſpenſe here. It is evident from the letter of *Arius*, and the teſtimonies of *Jerome* and *Auguſtin*, that Manicheiſm was known in the Roman Empire before the Council of *Nice*, and not till after the time of *Cyprian*. As for the edict of *Diocletian*, I am not ſatisfyed about it's genuinneſſe. What ground *Euſebe*, or rather *Jerome*, in the Chronicle, had for fixing the riſe of Manicheiſm at the ſecond year of *Probus*, we cannot now certainly ſay: excepting only the authority of the Acts of

(d) In Annalibus origo haereſeos Manichaeorum anno praecedenti conſignatur, ſed eam ad praeſentem retrahendam eſſe evincit Euſebius in Chronico. *Pagi. Am.* 277. *n. vi.* Verum eſt varias ſub idem fere tempus eruptiones monſtri illius fuiſſe, et inſignibus alicujus facinoris notis celebratas. Quae cauſa fuit, cur non iiſdem Imperatoribus haereſis iſtius origo mandata fuerit. *ib. n. vii.*

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Archelaus, which there is not much reaſon to think that *Euſebe* was acquainted with. It appears to me remarkable, that *Alexander* of *Lycopolis*, who, as is ſayd, once was a Manichean, and afterwards wrote againſt them, ſpeaks not with aſſurance about *Mani*'s time. The little notice taken of Manicheiſm by *Euſebe* is another thing that deſerves obſervation: as do likewiſe the words of *Cyril* and *Epiphanius*, where they ſpeak of *Mani* or *Hermias* having been perſonally known to ſome of their times. Inſomuch that upon the whole, I am doubtful, whether Manicheiſm was known in the Roman Empire before the very end of the third centurie, or the begining of the fourth. If it was known there ſooner, I think it's progreſſe muſt have been very inconſiderable.

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SECT. III.

MANI's Predeceſſors, and Works.

I. *His Predeceſſors.* 1. SCYTHIAN. 2. TEREBINTH. II. *His Works.*

IT will be proper in the next place to give an account of *Mani*'s works. Sect. III.

I. But it is requiſite, that I beforehand take notice of two perſons, ſpoken of as *Mani*'s predeceſſors, and (*a*) ſometimes called his maſters, *Scythian* and *Terebinth*; both expreſsly named in the long paſſage of *Socrates*, tranſcribed at the begining of this chapter. *His Predeceſſors.*

1. It has been the prevailing opinion of learned men, that *Scythian* lived in the apoſtolic age, or near it. *Epiphanius* (*b*) pla- *Scythian.*

(*a*) —— τὸς μάντος διδασκάλους. *Vid. Anathem. ap. Coteler. Clem. Recogn. l. 4. c. 27. in.*

(*b*) —— περὶ τὸς χρόνος τῶν ἀποστόλων. *H. 66. n. 3 p. 620. A.*

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ceth him near the time of the Apoſtles, which (*c*) *Cave* thinks may be underſtood with ſo great latitude, as to leave room to ſuppoſe, that *Scythian* lived to near the end of the ſecond centurie.

In the Acts of *Archelaus*, *Scythian* is ſaid (*d*) to have lived in the time of the *Apoſtles*. But that ſeems not very conſiſtent with what follows, where (*e*) it is ſaid, that *Terebinth* was a diſciple of *Scythian*, and intimate with him. And *Mani*, who appeared not in the world till after the midle of the third centurie, is ſaid to have been the ſlave and adopted ſon of the woman at whoſe houſe *Terebinth* dyed.

Indeed, there is reaſon to believe, that *Scythian* was contemporarie with *Mani*, as (*f*) ſome

(*c*) Tradit Epiphanius ipſum Hieroſolyma profectum περὶ τὰς χρόνους τῶν ἀποστόλων. [*H.* 66. *n.* 3. *p.* 620. *A.*] Quod laxiori quidem ſenſu de ſaeculo aevum apoſtolicum proxime ſecuto intelligendum eſt; adeo ut vergente ad exitum ſaeculo ſecundo diem fatalem obiiſſe cenſeri poteſt. *Cav. H. l. T.* 1. *p.* 140. *Oxon.* 1740.

(*d*) Scythianus nomine apoſtolorum tempore fuit ſectae hujus auctor et princeps. —— *Arch. n.* 51. *p.* 95.

(*e*) Diſcipulum habuit quendam nomine Terebinthum. *Arch. n.* 52. *p.* 96. —— quia ergo aliquantulum temporis ſecum iſti ambo decreverunt ſoli habitare; —— Ille vero diſcipulus, qui cum eo fuerat converſatus, —— *ib.*

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(f) ſome learned men have perceived. For *(g)* in *Photius* is expreſs mention made of a (*) letter of *Mani* to *Scythian*.

Archelaus in one place ſays, that *(h) Scythian* was of the countrey of *Scythia*. But afterwards he ſays, he *(i)* was a *Saracen* or *Arabian*, which is alſo ſayd by *(k) Cyril* and *(l) Epiphanius*. *Photius* too ſays, not very differently from *(m) Archelaus*, that *Scythian (n)* was deſcended from the *Saracens*, but choſe to live in *Egypt*, and particularly at *Alexandria*.

(f) Hunc Scythianum Manetis adhuc aetate vixiſſe non dubito, licet aetate ac ſenio eum praeceſſit. —— Certe ex Manetis epiſtola ad Scythianum fragmentum a me infra afferetur. *Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. v. p.* 280. *Vid. et Beauſobre Hiſt. des Manich. T. i. p.* 26. *et* 63.

(g) Καὶ μὴν ἡ ὁ μανιχαῖος πρὸς σκυθιανὸν ἐπιστέλλων —— *ap. Phot. in Eulogio cod.* 230. *p.* 849.

(*) *See a French tranſlation of the fragment of that letter in B. T. i. p.* 45.

(h) —— quidam ex Scythia, Scythianus nomine. *Arch. n.* 51. *p.* 95.

(i) Quique Scythianus ipſe ex genere Saracenorum fuit, et captivam quandam accepit uxorem de ſuperiore Thebaide, quae eum ſuaſit habitare in Ægypto, magis quam in deſertis. *ib. n.* 52. *p.* 96.

(k) —— σαρακηνὸς τὸ γενός. *Cat.* 6. *n.* 22.

(l) —— ἀπὸ τῆς σαρακηνίας ὁρμωμένη. *H.* 66. *n.* 1.

(m) See before note (i).

(n) Σκυθιανός τις τὴν πατρίδα αἰγύπτιος, τὸ δὲ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων γένος σαρακηνὸς τὴν ἀλεξανδρίαν ᾤκει. *Ph. contr. Manich. l.* 1. *c.* 12. *in.*

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Terebinth.

2. *Terebinth*, reckoned another predeceſſor of *Mani*, is ſayd by *(o) Epiphanius* to have been a learned man, as well as *Scythian*. The common account of this man in *(p) Archelaus*, *(q) Cyril*, *(r) Epiphanius*, and others, is, that after the death of his maſter *Scythian*, he went into *Perſia*, or the countrey of *Babylon*: where he changed his name from *Terebinth* to *Buddas*, and gave out, that he was born of a virgin, and brought up by an angel in the mountains; and that at laſt he was thrown off the top of a houſe by *(s)* an angel, or ſome other ſpirit, where he had

(o) ἦν γὰρ καὶ οὗτος ἐν γράμμασιν ἐπιμελέστατα πεπαιδευμένος. *H.* 66. *n.* 3. *p.* 620. *D.*

(p) —— et Babyloniam petiit, quae nunc provincia habetur a Perſis, —— quo cum veniſſet, talem de ſe famam pervulgavit ipſe Terebinthus, dicens —— ſe —— vocari non jam Terebinthum, ſed alium Buddam nomine, —— ex quadam autem virgine natum ſe eſſe, ſimul et ab angelo in montibus enutritum. —— Tunc deinde mane primo aſcendit ſolarium quoddam excelſum, ubi nomina quaedam coepit invocare. —— Haec eo cogitante juſtiſſimus Deus ſub terras eum detrudi per ſpiritum jubet, et continuo de ſummo dejectus, exanime corpus deorſum praecipitatum eſt, quod anus illa miſerta collectum locis ſolitis ſepeliit. *Arch. c.* 52. *p.* 97.

(q) Cyr. Cat. vi. n. 23.

(r) Haer. 66. *n.* 3.

(s) —— ὑπὸ ἀγγέλου καταχθεὶς κατέπεσε. *Epiph. ib. p.* 621. *A.*

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had gone up very early one morning to perform ſome ſacred rites.

As for his changing his name, in all probability there was no bad deſign in that; *Buddas* (*t*) being in the *Babylonian* language equivalent to *Terebinth*, which in *Greek* ſignifyes a certain tree.

What is ſayd of his pretending to have been born of a virgin, and educated in the mountains, muſt needs be a fiction: becauſe, as (*u*) *Beauſobre* obſerves, the Manicheans univerſally denyed the poſſibility of ſuch a birth, and always ſuppoſed, that (*x*) *Mani* himſelf was born in the ordinarie way.

As for the manner of his death, there is no reaſon to receive the account of it, as true, from thoſe who have ſuffered themſelves to be impoſed upon in ſo many particulars. But it is not improbable, that *Terebinth* often went to the upper part of the

(*t*) Qui in Perſiam concedens, ut melius celaretur, tranſtulit nomen ſuum in Buddam, (rectius Butm, ſeu Budm,) Terebinthum ſignificans. *Hyde*, *p.* 280. *Conf. Beauſ. Hiſt. de Manich. T. i. p.* 53. 54. 55.

(*u*) *T. i. p.* 56.

(*x*) —— cur hominem ſuſceptum a Spiritu Sancto Manichaeum, non putatis turpe, natum ex utroque ſexu praedicare? *Aug. contr. Ep. Fund. c.* 7. *n.* 8. Cum enim vos non timeatis viſcera et ſanguinem Manichaei de humano concubitu venientem, —— *id. ib. Vid. et. Alex. Lyc. p.* 14. *D.*

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houſe to perform his devotions there; the Manicheans being frequent in prayer, and the top of the houſe *(y)* being a place much uſed for that purpoſe by the Eaſtern people. Whether *Terebinth* dyed ſuddenly in ſuch a place, I do not know.

Finally, whereas it is ſayd, that *Terebinth* outlived *Scythian*, and that having dyed himſelf at the houſe of a widow, who coming to the poſſeſſion of his eſtate, purchaſed the boy *Cubricus*, or *Mani*, then ſeven years of age, it muſt be all without foundation. For *Scythian* himſelf was contemporarie with *Mani*, and alive after that *Mani* had publiſhed his peculiar opinions, as has been ſhewn. Moreover *Terebinth*, or *Buddas*, or *Addas*, was a diſciple of *Mani*. His name is in all catalogues of the firſt diſciples of that *Perſian* maſter, and he wrote in defenſe of his ſcheme. And by *Scythian* may then be meant *Mani*, who, as (z) *Theodoret* ſays, was ſometimes ſo called: poſſibly, becauſe he was a while in that countrey.

Let this ſuffice for ſhewing, that the common accounts concerning theſe two predeceſſors

(y) See Beauſobre, T. i. p. 60.

(z) σκυθιανὸς δὲ δουλεύων παρεσπονδεῖτο. *Haer. Fab. l. i. c. 26. in.*

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ſors of *Mani* are not to be relyed upon, but are really idle fictions. Sect. III.

I have already ſeveral times quoted *Beauſobre*. I here again refer to his (*a*) Hiſtorie of the Manicheans.

II. We come now to *Mani*'s works, of which I ſhall give the beſt account I can. *His Works.*

Socrates in the paſſage formerly cited ſpeaks of four books, writ by *Terebinth* or *Buddas*; entitled Myſteries, the Goſpel, the Treaſure, and Chapters. By (*b*) *Cyril*, and (*c*) *Epiphanius*, and (*d*) *Photius*, they are aſcribed to *Scythian*, as they are alſo in the (*e*) Acts of *Archelaus*. But there being an ambiguity in one place of that work (*f*) where they are mentioned, it is likely, that thereby *Socrates* was induced to call them *Terebinth*'s, as

(*a*) *T. i. p.* 53——64.

(*b*) *Cat.* 6. *n.* 22.

(*c*) *Haer.* 66. *n.* 2.

(*d*) *Ph. contr. Manich. l. i. c.* 12.

(*e*) —— etiam quatuor illos libellos, quos Scythianus ſcripſerat, non multorum verſuum ſingulos. *Arch. n.* 53. *p.* 97.

(*f*) Diſcipulum autem habuit [Scythianus] quendam nomine Terebinthum, qui ſcripſit ei quatuor libros, ex quibus unum quidem appellavit Myſteriorum, alium vero Capitulorum, tertium autem Evangelium, et noviſſimum omnium Theſaurum appellavit. *Arch. n.* 52. *p.* 96.

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Sect. III. as has been hinted by (g) ſome learned men.

Socrates ſays, that *Mani* coming to the poſſeſſion of thoſe books diſtributed them among his followers as his own. *Archelaus* (h) ſpeaks to the like purpoſe, only he ſays, that *Mani* firſt made additions to them. It ſeems to me probable, that they are really *Mani*'s. And I ſhall conſider them as ſuch. *Beauſobre* does the ſame.

The four books mentioned by *Socrates* are differently placed by the authors juſt cited. I chooſe to ſpeak of them in the order, in which they are named by *Archelaus* and *Epiphanius*: Myſteries, Chapters, Goſpel, Treaſurie. Afterwards I ſhall put down the titles of other things aſcribed to him.

1. The firſt is the Myſteries. "It appears, ſays (i) *Beauſobre*, by comparing "*Titus* of *Boſtra* and *Epiphanius*, that it "began

(g) Scythianus —— diſcipulum habuit Terebinthum, qui alio nomine Buddam ſe vocavit, ſcripſitque ei (hoc eſt ab eo dictatos) quatuor libros. *Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. v. p.* 280. *Vid. et Touttée in Cyr. not.* (2) *p.* 101. *et confer. Beauſ. T. i. p.* 46. *m.*

(h) Tunc aſſumit illos libellos, et transfert eos, ita ut multa alia a ſemetipſo infereret eis —— nomen vero libellis proprium adſcribit, prioris nomine deleto, tanquam ſi eos ſolus ex ſemetipſo conſcripſerit. *Arch. n.* 53. *p.* 98.

(i) *B. T. i. p.* 46. 47.

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began with these words: *God (k) and Matter existed, light and darkness, good and evil. They were entirely separate, and contrarie to each other.* This book was divided into (*l*) two and twenty sections, according to the number of the letters of the *Syriac* alphabet. As for the subject of the book, *Photius* (*m*) says, the author there blasphemed the Law and the Prophets. But that was not the principal design of this pernicious work. It is the doctrine of two principles that *Mani* there endeavored to prove by a demonstration a posteriori: I mean from the mixture of good and evil, which there is in the world. All his reasoning is founded upon this maxim, that if there were one sole cause, who is most simple, most perfect, most good, all effects would be answerable to the nature and will of that cause: the whole would shew his simplicity, his perfection, his goodness: and every thing would be immortal, holy, happy, like himself. We may with assurance conclude, what were the contents

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(*k*) Ἦν θεὸς καὶ ὕλη· φῶς, καὶ σκότος· ἀγαθὸν, καὶ κακὸν ἐν τοῖς πᾶσιν ἄκρως ἐναντία. *Tit. contr. Manich. l. i. p.* 63. *in. et ap. Epiph. H.* 66. *n.* 14. *in.*

(*l*) *Epiph. H.* 66. *n.* 13. *p.* 629. *C. D.*

(*m*) *Ph. contr. Manich. l. i. c.* 12. *p.* 40.

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" tents of this book, the Myſteries, from " the confutation of it by *Titus* of *Boſtra*: " who follows his adverſarie very cloſely, " though he does not concern himſelf mi- " nutely with every *(n)* thing."

Some learned men, as *(o) Cave*, and *(p) Fabricius*, thought, that *Mani* wrote a book *Concerning the Faith*. They ſuppoſe it to be quoted by *Epiphanius*. But *Beauſobre* well argues, that *(q)* the paſſage in *Epiphanius* is taken out of the book of the Myſteries: as appears by comparing him with *Titus* of *Boſtra*. I think, *Epiphanius* does not intend a book different from others there named: but ſays, that in the books mentioned by him, particularly that of the Myſteries, *Mani* ſhews, what was his faith or doctrine.

I therefore ſhall not ſpeak of this, as a diſtinct book of *Mani*, as ſome have done.

2. The ſecond book is that called Chapters, or Heads: ſummarily repreſenting, it is likely, the fundamental, principal articles of the Manichean doctrine. *Beauſobre (r)* puts the queſtion,

(n) *What Beauſobre ſays farther of this book may be ſeen T. i. p.* 427.

(o) *H. L. T. i. p.* 139.

(p) *Bib. Gr. T. v. p.* 282.

(q) *T. i. p.* 426. 427.

(r) *ib. p.* 48. *in.*

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queſtion, whether this be not the Epiſtle of the Foundation. As I ſee no reaſon for ſuch a ſuppoſition, I ſhall ſpeak of that afterwards among *Mani*'s Epiſtles. Sect. III.

3. The third book was entitled the Goſpel, which, as *Cyril* ſays, did (*s*) not contain the hiſtorie of the life of Chriſt, but reſembled the Goſpels in name only. We might be apt to conclude from thoſe words of *Cyril*, that he had ſeen the book: but perhaps he ſpeaks only by way of conjecture, as *(t) Photius* ſeems to have done, when he ſays, that *(u)* therein were related things derogatorie to the honour of Chriſt our Saviour. I ſuppoſe this to be the ſame book, which is ſometimes called *(x)* the Living Goſpel. *Beauſobre* ſays, *(y)* it was a collection of *Mani*'s meditations and pretended revelations. But I cannot ſee how he ſhould know this, when he adds, that it was writ in

(*s*) ——εὐαγγέλιον, ὃ χρισὸς πράξεις περιέχουσαν, ἀλλ' ἁπλῶς μόνον τὴν προσηγορίαν *Cyr. Cat.* 6. *n.* 22.

(*t*) *Vit. Toutée not.* (*b*) *in Cyr. p.* 101.

(*u*) *Phot. contr. Manich. l. i. c.* 12. *p.* 40.

(*x*) τὸ τῶν μανιχαίων ζῶν εὐαγγέλιον. *ap. Phot. Cod.* 85. *p.* 204. *f. Conf. Timoth. Conſt. ap. Meurſ. Varia Divina p.* 117. *et Form. Recip. Manich. ap. Toll. p.* 142. *et Cotel. Clem. Recogn. l.* 4. *c.* 27.

(*y*) *T. i. p.* 48.

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in *Perſic*, and probably was never tranſlated into *Greek*: and in another place he ſays, that (z) he has not obſerved any fragments of it in the authors that have confuted *Mani*. I ſuppoſe, that conjectural concluſion is built upon the ſtorie of *Mani*'s journey to heaven, ſpoken of by Eaſtern authors, for which I ſee no good foundation. For my own part, I cannot ſay, what was in the book. I know nothing of it, beſide the title.

4. The fourth is called the Treaſure, and (a) Treaſure of life, and (b) the Treaſures in the plural number, as if there were more than one; a greater, perhaps, and a leſſe. *Epiphanius* ſpeaks of a book called (c) the little Treaſurie, as diſtinct from that called The Treaſure. Perhaps it was an abridgement of the former. But we cannot be certain. The Treaſure was one of the books, which were confuted by (d) *Heraclean. Beauſobre*

(z) *ib. p.* 426. *not.* (2.)

(a) Θησαυρὸς ζωῆς. *ap. Phot. contr. Manich. l. i. p.* 40. Θησαυρὸς τῆς ζωῆς. *ap. Maurſ. Var. Div. p.* 117. *et Toll. p.* 142. *et Cotel. ubi ſupra.*

(b) ἢ τὰς Θησαυρὰς καταλέγει. *Phot. Cod.* 85. *p.* 204.

(c) Ἕτερα δὲ Θησαυρός· ἢ ἄλλας δὴ βίβλους καττύσας φαντάζεται, τὸν μικρὸν δὴ Θησαυρὸν ἔτω καλύμενον. *Epiph. H.* 66. *n.* 13. *p.* 629. *D.*

(d) *Phot. Cod.* 85.

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ſobre thinks, that (*e*) the pompous title of the Treaſure, or Treaſure of life, might be an alluſion to ſome words of Chriſt, where he compares his doctrine to a treaſure hid in a field. See Matth. xiii. 44. *Auguſtin* (*f*) and the author (*g*) *De Fide*, joyned with *Auguſtin*'s works, allege a paſſage, as taken out of the Treaſure. But (*h*) *Beauſobre* ſays, it is not genuine, and offers very weighty arguments againſt it. As I do not intend to examine all the notions of the Manicheans, I ſhall have no occaſion to conſider that paſſage.

5. By *Epiphanius Mani* is ſayd to have writ (*i*) a book about Aſtrologie. It is likely, he means Aſtronomie.

6. In *Photius* is a book, entitled (*k*) the Gigantic Book. It is one of the three books of *Mani*, which were confuted by *Heraclean*. The

(*e*) *Beauſ. T. i. p.* 49.

(*f*) *Aug. de Natura Boni cap.* 44. *Vid. et Act. cum Felice l.* 2. *c.* 7. *et Contr. Fauſt. l.* 20. *c.* 6.

(*g*) *Cap.* 14. *&c.*

(*h*) *Vid. Hiſt. de Manich. T. i. p.* 49. 426. *T.* 2. *p.* 387. *&c.*

(*i*) ἄλλην δὲ τὴν περὶ ἀστρολογίας. *H.* 66. *n.* 13. *p.* 619. *D.*

(*k*) Ἀνατρέπει δὲ τὸ παρὰ τοῖς μανιχάοις καλούμενον εὐαγγέλιον, καὶ τὴν γιγάντειον βίβλον, καὶ τὸς θησαυρούς. *Phot. Cod.* 85. *p.* 204.

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The other two are the Goſpel, and the Treaſures. *Timothie* of *Conſtantinople* mentions a Manichean book, entitled *(l)* the Giant's Enterprize. Very probably he means the ſame with that juſt taken notice of.

7. *Mani*'s Epiſtles: of which there was a (*m*) book, or (*n*) collection made by ſome body.

1.) The firſt to be obſerved by us is the Epiſtle of the Foundation. This was confuted by *Auguſtin*, who tranſcribed the begining of it into his own (*o*) work. There is a large fragment of it in another book of *(p) Auguſtin*. There are fragments of it alſo in the *(q)* treatiſe *De Fide*, joyned with *Auguſtin*'s works. It was publicly read by the Manicheans in their (*r*) aſſemblies. Poſſibly it was a long Epiſtle. For *Auguſtin* (*s*) calls

(l) Ἡ τῶν γιγάντων πραγματεία. *ap. Meurſ. Var. Div. p.* 117.

(m) ἡ τὸ τῶν ἐπιſολῶν αὐτὸ βιβλίον. *ap. Coteler. ubi ſupr. et Toll. p.* 142.

(n) ἡ τῶν ἐπιſολῶν ὁμάς. *ap. Meurſ. ib. p.* 117.

(o) Vid. Aug. contr. Ep. Manichaei.

(p) Vid. De Natura Boni. cap. 46. *T.* 8.

(q) De Fide cap. v. xi. xxviii.

(*r*) Ipſa enim nobis illo tempore miſeris quando lecta eſt, illuminati dicebamur a vobis. *Aug. contr. Ep. Man. cap. v. n.* 6.

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(s) calls it a book, and ſays, it contained almoſt their whole ſcheme. Sect. III.

There is an epiſtle to *Patricius* cited by *(t) Julian* the *Pelagian* in the *Opus Imperfectum* of *Auguſtin*. *Tillemont (u)* conſiders this as different from the Epiſtle of the Foundation, though he allows that alſo to have been ſent to ſome particular perſon. But to me it ſeems probable, that they are one and the ſame Epiſtle. For according to the reading *(x)* in the *Benedictin* edition of *Auguſtin*'s Anſwer, the Epiſtle of the Foundation appears to be ſent to *Patticius*. Which is the right reading, that in the *Opus Imperfectum* of *Auguſtin*, or that in his Anſwer to the Epiſtle of the Foundation, I do not determine. But it ſeems likely, that hereby is

(*s*) Et potiſſimum illum conſideremus librum, quem Fundamenti epiſtolam dicitis, ubi totum pene quod creditis continetur. —— *Aug. ibid.*

(t) Sic etiam in illa ad Patritium epiſtola. *ap. Aug. Op. Imp. l.* 3. *c.* 186. —— Dixit hoc idem et Manichaeus in epiſtola ad Patritium. Dixit et in epiſtola, quam ſcripſit ad filiam Menoch. *ib. l.* 4. *c.* 109.

(*u*) *Mem. Ec. T. iv. Les Manicheens. Art.* 13.

(*x*) De eo igitur, frater dilectiſſime Pattici, de quo ſignificaſti, &c. *ap. Aug. contr. Ep. Manich. c.* 12. *n.* 14. *ubi ſubjicitur in ima pagina hoc monitum.* Editi, *dilectiſſime, audiſti.* Vetus codex Corbeienſis ante mille annos ſcriptus loco *audiſti*, habet *Pattici :* forte nomen illius, cui epiſtolam dedit Manichaeus.

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meant the ſame name with that of *Mani*'s father. And if *Patec*, or *Phatec*, was the name of his father, and of his friend, or diſciple, to whom the Epiſtle of the Foundation was ſent; it may afford ground to think, that this was a common name among the *Perſians*, or *Chaldeans*.

2.) A letter to *(y) Menoch*, a Manichean woman, found at *(z) Conſtantinople*, and *(a)* often quoted by *Julian* the *Pelagian*. I think, the genuinneſſe of this letter is not diſputed: but *(b) Auguſtin* did not know any thing of it, till it was quoted againſt him by *Julian*.

3.) A letter to *Marcellus*, found in the *(c)* Acts of *Archelaus*, and in *(d) Epiphanius*. *Beauſobre (e)* allows this letter to be genuine: but I think, that if thoſe Acts are fictitious, and

(y) See before note (t).

(z) Sed quia poſt editionem illorum, —— apud Conſtantinopolim Manichaei epiſtola inventa eſt, atque ad has directa partes, opera eſt aliqua ejus inferere. *ap. Aug. Op. Imp. l.* 3. *c.* 166.

(a) ap. Auguſtin. ib. c. 172. 174. 175. 176. 187. *et paſſim.*

(b) Si dicam tibi, iſtam Manichaei epiſtolam me omnino neſcire; quamvis verum dicam, non credes. *Aug. Op. Imp. l.* 3. *c.* 172.

(c) Arch. c. v. p. 6. 7.

(d) H. 66. *c.* 6.

(e) T. i. p. 94. 95.

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and the hiſtorie of *Mani* there recorded is for the moſt part improbale, and without ground, it will be difficult to maintain this letter. Again, if genuine, it muſt have been writ in *Greek*, as *Beauſobre* grants. That learned writer has indeed ſome arguments to prove, that *Mani* underſtood *Greek*. But perhaps they are of no great moment. The contents of the letter may encreaſe the ſuſpicion of it's genuinneſſe. It may be doubted, whether in writing to a ſtranger *Mani* would take upon him his apoſtolical character, as he here does, unleſs indeed he means nothing extraordinarie by it: and whether he would call one who was not of his opinion, his *(f) dear ſon*. It ſeems to me likewiſe improbable, that *Mani* ſhould reveal his ſentiments ſo clearly to one, who as yet had no knowledge of him. For he declares openly the doctrine of two principles, and his opinion concerning the birth of Chriſt. And in ſpeaking of this laſt he *(g)* uſeth broad and offenſive expreſſions. I might add other obſervations. But I forbear. Sect. III.

M 2 4.) A

(f) —— τέκνῳ ἀγαπητῷ. *ap. Arch. p.* 6.

(g) χρεὼν, μαρίας τινὸς γυναικὸς ἔλεγον εἶναι υἱὸν ἐξ αἵματος ἢ σαρκὸς, ἢ τῆς ἄλλης δυσωδίας τῶν γυναικῶν γεγενῆσθαι. *ib. p.* 8.

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4.) A Letter to *Scythian*, cited by *Eulogius* in *(b) Photius*. The paſſage may be likewiſe ſeen among ſome other fragments of *Mani*'s writings in *(i) Fabricius*.

5.) An Epiſtle to *Zebenna*, of which there are two fragments in *(k) Fabricius*.

6.) A Letter to *Cudarus*, of which *Fabricius* has alſo a *(l)* fragment.

7.) A Letter to *Odas*. [or perhaps *Addas*, or *Buddas*.] *Fabricius (m)* has likewiſe obliged us with a fragment of this Epiſtle.

8.) *Auguſtin (n)* ſpeaks of an Epiſtle of *Mani*, containing the ſtrict rules, by which the Elect ought to govern themſelves. By his manner of ſpeaking it appears to have been well known at *Rome*, and in *Africa*. Whether it was the Epiſtle of the Foundation, or ſome other, I cannot ſay. But I ſuppoſe it was not improper juſt to mention here this particular.

8. In ſome late writers mention is made of

(b) Cod. 280. *p.* 849. *m.*
(i) Bib. Gr. T. v. p. 284.
(k) ibid.
(l) ib. p. 285.
(m) ibid.
(n) Propoſita eſt vivendi regula de Manichaei epiſtola. *Aug. de Mor. Manich. c.* 20. *n.* 74.

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of a book entitled *(o)* Memoirs, or Memorable sayings and actions of *Mani*, the losse of which is much regretted by *(p) Beausobre.* Sect. III.

9. *Alexander* of *Lycopolis* mentions *(q)* a book of *Mani* concerning our Saviour's crucifixion. But it may be questioned, whether he means a distinct book, or only that in some book *Mani* had treated of that subject.

10. An Eastern author, cited by *Hyde*, speaks of a *(r)* book of Philosophie, writ by *Mani.*

11. In *(s) Photius* is quoted a passage, as *Mani's.* It is to this purpose: "I am not "so unmerciful, as Christ, who declared: "*Him that denyes me before men, him also* "*will I deny.* As for me, I say on the "other hand: Him that denyes me before "men, and by lying secures himself, I will "receive with joy, as if he had not denyed "me:

(o) καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀπομνημονευμάτων. (sive Manetis dictorum factorumque memorabilium Commentarium.) *ap. Tollii Insign. p.* 142. *et Cotel. ubi supra.*

(p) T. i. p. 430.

(q) ὅπερ αὐτὸς ὁ μανιχαῖος διαπέπτεται λόγῳ περὶ τούτου διδάσκων. *Alex. Lyc. p.* 19. *B.*

(r) Ibn Shahna dicit Manetem scripsisse Philosophiam, quam vertit in linguam Persicam. *Hyde, p.* 283.

(s) Ph. contr. Manich. l. i. c. 8.

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" me: and his lye and apoſtaſie I will con-
" ſider, as a ſervice to my intereſt." This ſaying, with ſome difference, and not quite ſo abſurd and impudent, is in the Form of abjuring Manicheiſm, as we have it in *(t) Cotelerius*, and (*u*) *Tollius*. I think, that (*x*) *Beauſobre* is in the right to diſpute the genuinneſſe of this paſſage, found only in late authors, without naming the work whence it is taken. I am ſure, it is contrarie to the noble ſaying of *Mani*, to be alleged by and by *(y)* from the Acts of *Archelaus*, where he profeſſes willingneſſe to ſuffer, and to fear God more than men. It is alſo contrarie to the practiſe of his followers, who were generally in ſuffering circumſtances for their principles, and yet perſevered, and ſhewed as much conſtance, as the men of any other ſect. *Beauſobre* (*z*) has quoted a paſſage of (*a*) *Secundin*, ſhewing, that the Manicheans did not approve of diſſimu-

(*t*) *ubi ſupra.*

(*u*) *Toll. ubi ſupr. p.* 148.

(*x*) *T.* 2. *p.* 796.

(y) See the next ſection, near the begining.

(*z*) *ib. p.* 796. 797.

(*a*) Ipſe enim non ignoras, quam peſſimus ſit, quamque malignus, quique etiam tanta calliditate adverſus fideles et ſummos viros militat, ut et Petrum coegerit ſub una nocte tertio Dominum negare. *Secundin ad Auguſt. c.* 4.

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diſſimulation, nor of denying the Lord Jeſus. *Auguſtin* aſſures us, that *(b)* the Manicheans alleged as genuine words of Chriſt what is recorded Luke xviii. 29. 30. *There is no man that has left houſe, or parents, or brethren, or wife, or children, for the kingdom of God's ſake, who ſhall not receive manifold.* Sect. III.

Perhaps this impudent ſaying was in the Memoirs, or Memorable acts and ſayings of *Mani*. If ſo, *Beauſobre* had no reaſon to ſet any great value upon that piece. Indeed, I ſuſpect, the collection with that name to have been a late thing: and I apprehend it not unlikely to have been made by *Mani*'s enemies, and to have been injurious to him in ſome reſpects, though there may have been in it ſome of his genuine ſayings and obſervations.

12. *Titus* of *Boſtra* intimates, that *(c)* *Mani*'s books, at leſt the book he anſwered, was writ in *Syriac*. *Auguſtin* however ſuppoſeth, that *(d)* they had books writ in *Perſic*.

 13. From

(b) —— quid ſi alius dicat illud eſſe immiſſum, et falſum, quod ipſi proferunt dicente Domino: Omnis qui reliquerit domum, aut uxorem, aut parentes, aut filios propter regnum coelorum, &c. *Aug. contr. Adimant. c. 3. n. 2.*

(c) Ὅσα μὲν ἔν ἑτερα, γραὸς δίκην μυθολογεῖ καὶ γράφει τῇ σύρων φωνῇ χρώμενος. *Tit. l. i. p. 69. in.*

(d) Itane Perſicis libris me jubes credere, qui Hebraeis me dixiſti non credere? *Aug. Contr. Fauſt. l. 13. c. 17.*

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13. From *Auguſtin* we learn, that the (*e*) Manicheans had many, and large books, adorned at great expenſe. Perhaps the bulk of the volumes was owing to the largeneſſe of the letters, in which (*f*) they were written throughout; ſuch as were otherwiſe generally uſed only at the beginings of books, or chapters.

14. I have now finiſhed my account of *Mani*'s works. I wiſh we had more of them, or at leſt the Epiſtle of the Foundation entire, that we might judge for ourſelves. Perhaps it might pleaſe the curious, if ſome learned man would publiſh a collection of all *Mani*'s fragments.

(*e*) —— conſpuuntur [al. conſpiciuntur] tam multi et tam grandes et tam pretioſi codices veſtri: et multum dolentur labores antiquariorum, et ſaecelli miſerorum, et panis deceptorum. *Contr. Fauſt. l.* 13, *c.* 6. Incendite omnes illas membranas, eleganteſque tecturas decoris pellibus exquiſitas, ut nec res ſuperflua vos oneret. *ib. cap.* 18. —— cum te illi ſonarent mihi frequenter et multipliciter voce ſola, et libris multis et ingentibus. *Confeſſ. l.* 3. *c.* 6. *n.* 10. *Vid. et c.* 12.

(*f*) Habeant qui volunt veteres libros, vel in membranis purpureis auro argentoque deſcriptos, vel initialibus, ut vulgo aiunt, literis, onera magis exarata, quam codices: dummodo mihi, meiſque permittant pauperes habere ſchedulas, et non tam pulchros codices quam emendatos. *Hier. Pr. in Job, T. i. p.* 798.

SECT.

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SECT. IV.

The Sentiments of the Manicheans concerning divers Points.

I. MANI *was a Chriſtian.* II. *Divers particulars, in which the Manicheans agreed with other Chriſtians.* III. *Whether* MANI *was an impoſtor? The Queſtion propoſed, and the Opinions of ſeveral about it.* IV. *Reaſons for thinking, he was an Impoſtor, with an Examination of thoſe Reaſons.* V. *Additional Obſervations.* VI. *The Manichean Sentiments concerning the Divine Perfections. Whether they believed two Gods? They believed God Creator, and a Trinity. Whether they worſhiped the Sun?* VII. *They held two eternal Principles.* VIII. *Their Account of the Creation of the World.* IX. *Of the Formation of Man.* X. *That Man has two Souls.* XI. *Of the Fall of Man.* XII. *Of Marriage.* XIII. *Of*

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XIII. *Of Free Will.* XIV. *Of Fate.* XV. *Of the Lawfulneſſe of War.* XVI. *They held the Tranſmigration of Souls.* XVII. *They denyed the Reſurrection of the Body.* XVIII. *Of the future Judgement, and the Eternity of Hell-Torments.* XIX. *Of the End of the World.* XX. *The Grounds and Reaſons of their Faith in Chriſt.* XXI. *They believed Chriſt to be God, but not Man.* XXII. *Their Opinion of Chriſt's Crucifixion, Death and Reſurrection.* XXIII. *Whether they thought, the Death of Chriſt to be a propitiatorie Sacrifice?*

Sect. IV. *Mani was a Chriſtian.*

I. THE firſt thing I obſerve for ſhewing *Mani*'s ſentiments is, that he was a Chriſtian.

Entering into the debate with *Archelaus* he is made to ſay: "I, brethren, am *(a)* a "diſciple and an apoſtle of Jeſus Chriſt." His letter to *Marcellus*, inſerted in the work aſcribed to *Archelaus*, is thus inſcribed: "*Mani*, an *(b)* apoſtle of Jeſus Chriſt, and "all

(a) Ego, viri fratres, Chriſti quidem ſum diſcipulus, apoſtolus vero Jeſu. *Arch. n.* 13. *p.* 24. *in.*

(b) Μανιχαῖος ἀπόστολος ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ —— χάρις, ἔλεος, εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς καὶ κυρίου ἡμῶν ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ. *n.* λ. *n.* 5. *p.* 6.

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" all the ſaints with me, unto *Marcellus* my " dear ſon, grace, mercie and peace from " God the Father, and from the Lord Je- " ſus Chriſt." In that letter he complains, " that *(c)* ſome, even Chriſtians, did not " believe the things ſayd in the Goſpels by " our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt." At the village *Dioderis*, *Mani* is repreſented ſpeaking to *Archelaus* in this honeſt, and reſolute, and truly Chriſtian manner: " If *(d)* " you have a mind to perſecute me, I ſub- " mit. If you would inflict puniſhments " upon me, I do not decline them. If you " would kill me, I am not afraid. For we " ought to fear him alone, who is able to " deſtroy both ſoul and bodie in hell." See Matt. x. 28.

Fauſtus in his book uſually propoſeth difficulties and objections againſt their ſcheme in the way of queſtion. " Do (*e*) you re- " ceive the goſpel? Yes certainly." Afterwards:

(*c*) Οὔτε γὰρ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἐν εὐαγγελίοις παρ' αὐτῷ τῷ πατρὶ ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίῳ ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ πιστεύουσιν. *ib. p.* 7.

(*d*) Si perſequi volueris, paratus ſum: et ſi inferre ſupplicia, non refugiam. Si etiam interficere me vis, non reformido. &c. *Arch. n.* 47. *p.* 84.

(*e*) Accipis evangelium? Et maxime? *Fauſt. l.* 2. *c.* 1.

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wards: "Do *(f)* you receive the goſpel? "And do you aſk me, whether I receive "the goſpel, when in fact it appears that I "receive it, by doing what it commands." Which he there proceeds to ſhew in a variety of particulars. He ſpeaks *(g)* "of the "wholſome, or ſaving words of the Lord, "and his divine diſcourſes." And according to him, Chriſt *(h)* is light and truth itſelf, and *(i)* a teacher and model of all virtue.

Fauſtus readily profeſſeth himſelf and the reſt of the Manicheans *(k)* to be diſciples of Chriſt and his Apoſtles. Nor *(l)* will they be

(f) Accipis evangelium? Tu me interrogas, utrum accipiam evangelium, in quo id ipſum accipere apparet, quia quae jubet obſervo —— ? Ego patrem dimiſi ——, et interrogas, utrum accipiam evangelium? Niſi adhuc neſcis, quid ſit quod evangelium nuncupatur. *l.* 5. *c. i.*

(g) —— credimus, —— tum praecepta ſalutaria ejus, tum parabolas, cunctumque ſermonem deificum. *Id. l.* 32. *c.* 7.

(h) —— Chriſtum lumen, ſanctimonium, divina omnia petentem. *l.* 14. *c. i. f.* —— veritatis auctori. *l.* 16. *c.* 2.

(i) Quid vero et de magiſtro ipſo dicemus ac ſanctimonii totius auctore Jeſu —— ? *l.* 30. *c.* 4.

(k) —— ut fere Chriſto placet et ejus apoſtolis, et nobis profecto. *l.* 24. *c. i. med.* —— neque id temere aut praeſumtive, ſed a Chriſto diſcentes et ejus apoſtolis, &c. *eod. cap. ad fin.*

(l) Nos vero quamvis de hac ſententia nemo prorſus dejiciat, ex Deo accipiendi filium Dei. *l.* 23. *c.* 3. *in.*

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be prevailed upon by any, to forſake Jeſus the ſon of God, their maſter. Our (*m*) Lord, and our Saviour, are characters and titles, by which they continually ſpeak of Jeſus Chriſt.

Titus of *Boſtra* owns, that (*n*) they honored the name of Chriſt. *Auguſtin* obſerves, that (*o*) they would not ſay, the doctrine of the Apoſtles of Chriſt was in any reſpect falſe and miſtaken.

By all which we may perceive, how much the late ingenious *Stephen Nye* was miſtaken, when he ſayd, that *(p)* the Manicheans never were accounted a ſect of Chriſtians.

I ſhall add but little more here.

Fortunatus, the Manichean Preſbyter, in the Diſpute with *Auguſtin* ſays, the *(q)* ſoul cannot be reconciled to God, but by the Lord

(*m*) Et merito dixiſſe Dominum noſtrum. *Fortunat. Diſp. i. c.* 14. Evaſimus igitur, quia ſpiritalem ſecuti ſumus Salvatorem. Nam illius tantum erupit audacia, ut ſi noſter Dominus carnalis foret, omnis noſtra fuiſſet ſpes amputata. *Secundin, ad Aug. c.* 4.

(*n*) —— ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τετίμηται τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἰησοῦ, —— *Tit. l.* 3. *in. p.* 139.

(*o*) Nam illa vox altera Paganorum eſt, qui dicunt, Apoſtolos Chriſti non recta docuiſſe. *Contr. Fauſt. l.* 32. *c.* 16. *in.*

(*p*) *Nye's Def. of the Canon of the N. T. p.* 87. *&c.*

(*q*) —— et animam aliter non poſſe reconciliari Deo, niſi per magiſtrum, qui eſt Jeſus Chriſtus. *Aug. et Fortu. Diſp. i. n.* 17.

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Sect. IV. Lord Jesus Christ: that (r) Christ our Saviour has taught us what good we ought to do, and what evil we ought to avoid in order to please God: that (s) the doctrine of Christ is sound doctrine, by which the soul may be purifyed from it's defilements, and brought back to the kingdom of God.

Their agreement with other Christians.

II. *Mani* then and his followers were Christians. It will appear farther from great numbers of things to be taken notice of, as we go along. However, I would here add a few passages, shewing in some measure what opinions they held in common with other Christians.

They believed a God, and a Trinity, and that God made the world. So *Augustin* (t) says.

(r) —— auctore Salvatore nostro, qui nos docet et bona exercere, et mala fugere. *Disp. 2. n. 20. f.*

(s) —— si post admonitionem Salvatoris nostri, et sanam doctrinam ejus, a contraria et inimica sui stirpe se segregaverit anima; —— Unde patet recte esse poenitentiam datam post adventum Salvatoris, et post hanc scientiam rerum, qua possit anima, acsi divino fonte lota, de sordibus et vitiis tam mundi totius, quam corporum in quibus eadem anima versatur, regno Dei, unde progressa est, repraesentari. *Fort. Disp. 2. c. 21.*

(t) Numquid propterea dicere non debemus, quod bonus Deus fecerit mundum; quia hoc dicit etiam Manichaeus? —

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ſays. Nevertheleſs we may hereafter obſerve ſome differences between them and other Chriſtians upon theſe heads. Sect. IV.

They required and encouraged repentance, as *Auguſtin* likewiſe aſſures (*u*) us.

And he obſerves, that (*x*) he and the Manicheans agree in ſaying, that we ought to love God and our neighbour. But they denyed, that this was taught in the Old Teſtament.

Let me here add the confeſſion of faith, made by *Fortunatus* at the begining of the diſpute with *Auguſtin* in the year 392. though ſome expreſſions there uſed are not altogether agreeable to the Catholic doctrine.

" Our belief, ſays *(y) Fortunatus*, is this, " that God is incorruptible, glorious, inacceſ- " ſible,

Item ſi interrogemur, utrum ſit Deus? et nos et Manichaei reſpondemus : Eſt Deus. —— De ipſa quoque Trinitate interrogati, utrique dicimus, Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum ejuſdem eſſe naturae. *Aug. Op. Imp. l. v. c.* 30.

(*u*) Nam ut inter omnes ſanos conſtat, et quod ipſi Manichaei non ſolum fatentur, ſed et praecipiunt, utile eſt poenitere peccati. *Aug. de duab. Anim. c.* 14. *n.* 22. *m.*

(*x*) Atque in his duobus convenit mihi cum Manichaeis id eſt, ut Deum et proximum diligamus : ſed hoc veteri teſtamento negant contineri. *De Mor. Ec. Cath. c.* 28. *n.* 57.

(y) Et noſtra profeſſio ipſa eſt, quod incorruptabilis ſit Deus, quod lucidus, quod inadibilis, quod intenibilis, impaſſibilis, aeternam lucem et propriam inhabitet: quod nihil ex ſeſe

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" ſible, incomprehenſible, impaſſible, dwell-
" ing in his own eternal light: that he pro-
" duceth nothing from himſelf that is cor-
" ruptible, not darkneſſe, not demons, not
" Satan: that he has ſent a Saviour like him-
" ſelf, the Word born before the founda-
" tion of the world, who after the world
" was made came among men, to ſave the
" ſouls worthie of his holy favour, ſancti-
" fyed by his heavenly precepts, through faith
" and reaſon endowed with the knowledge
" of heavenly things: and that under his
" conduct thoſe ſouls ſhall again return to
" the

ſeſe corruptibile proferat, nec tenebras, nec daemones, nec Satanam, nec aliquid adverſum in regno ejus reperiri poſſit: Sui autem ſimilem Salvatorem direxiſſe, Verbum natum a conſtitutione mundi, cum mundum fabricaret, poſt mundi fabricam inter homines veniſſe, dignas ſibi animas elegiſſe ſanctae ſuae voluntati, mandatis ſuis coeleſtibus ſanctificatas, fide ac ratione imbutas coeleſtium rerum; ipſo ductore hinc iterum eaſdem animas ad regnum Dei reverſuras eſſe, ſecundum ſanctam ipſius pollicitationem, qui dixit: Ego ſum via, veritas, et janua; et nemo poteſt ad Patrem pervenire, niſi per me. His rebus nos credimus, quia alias animae, id eſt, alio mediante non poterunt ad regnum Dei reverti, niſi ipſum repererint, viam, veritatem et januam. Ipſe enim dixit: Qui me vidit, vidit et Patrem meum; et, qui in me crediderit, mortem non guſtabit in aeternum, ſed tranſitum facit de morte ad vitam, et in judicium non venit. His rebus credimus, et haec eſt ratio fidei noſtrae, et pro viribus animi noſtri mandatis ejus obtemperare, unam fidem ſectantes hujus trinitatis, Patris, et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. *Fortunat. Diſp. i. n.* 3.

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" the kingdom of God, according to his " holy promiſe, who ſayd: *I am the way,* " *the truth, and the door:* and *no man cometh* " *unto the Father, but by me.* Theſe things " we believe, foraſmuch as ſouls cannot " otherwiſe, that is, through any other " mediator, return to the kingdom of God. " For he himſelf ſays: *He that hath ſeen* " *me, hath ſeen the Father alſo:* and, *He* " *that believeth on me, ſhall not taſte death,* " *but paſſeth from death to life, and cometh* " *not into condemnation.* Theſe things we " believe, and this is the ground of our faith: " as alſo, that with all the powers of our " mind we are to obey his holy command- " ments, holding the doctrine of the Tri- " nity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy " Ghoſt."

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John xiv. 6.

— ver. 9.

ch. v. 24.

Thus *Fortunatus:* who likewiſe juſt before had profeſſed his belief and expectation (*z*) of the future judgement of the juſt judge, Jeſus Chriſt. And *Secundin* in his letter to *Auguſtin* reminds (*a*) him of the juſt tribunal of the great judge: and aſks him,

(*z*) —— et in futura juſti judicis Chriſti examinatione, — *ib. n.* 3.

(*a*) Quis igitur tibi patronus erit ante juſtum tribunal judicis, cum et de ſermone et opere coeperis te teſte convinci. *Secund. ad Aug. n.* 3.

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Sect. IV. if *(b)* it be not true, which *Paul* ſays, *that every one muſt give an account of his works?*

Rom. xiv. 12.

Whether Mani was an impoſtor.

III. Before we proceed to a more particular examination of *Mani*'s principles, it may be proper to conſider, what were his pretenſions, or upon what grounds he recommended his peculiar doctrines: whether upon the foot of reaſon only, or of a peculiar revelation.

We have already ſeen, how *Euſebe* and ſome other Catholic writers expreſs themſelves. *Euſebe* in particular ſays, "he (*) "made an appearance of being Chriſt, and "ſometimes ſayd, he was the Comforter, and "the Holy Ghoſt himſelf: and that like "Chriſt he choſe himſelf twelve Apoſtles." *Epiphanius* ſays, that *(c)* he preſumed ſometimes to ſay he was the Holy Ghoſt, and at other times, that he was an Apoſtle of Jeſus Chriſt. According to *Cyril*, *Mani (d)* ſayd,

(b) An falſum in Paulo eſt, quod operum ſinguli ſuorum non erunt reddituri rationem? *ib.*

(*) *See before, p.* 19.

(c) Ελεγε δὲ ἑαυτὸν ὁ μάνης εἶναι τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ παράκλητον, ἢ ποτὲ μὲν ἀπόστολον φάσκει ἑαυτὸν χριστοῦ, ποτὲ δὲ πνεῦμα παράκλητον. *Epiph. H.* 66. *n.* 12. *p.* 629. *B. Conf. n.* 19. *p.* 635. *C.*

(d) —— ὁ γὰρ λέγων ἑαυτὸν παράκλητον, ἢ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀγωνιστήν, κ. λ. *Cyr. Cat.* 6. *n.* 26.

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ſayd, he was the Comforter, and the defender of truth: and in another place, that(*e*) he ſayd he was the Holy Spirit. Sect. IV.

In the Acts of *Archelaus*, at the begining of the conference at *Caſchar*, he is made to ſay: "I, *(f)* brethren, am a diſciple and "apoſtle of Jeſus Chriſt. I am the Com- "forter, promiſed to be ſent by Jeſus, *to* John xvi. 8. "*convince the world of ſin, and of righteouſ-* "*neſſe*: as alſo *Paul* ſent before me ſayd: "*We know in part, and propheſy in part*; 1 Cor. xiii. 9. 10. "reſerving to me that which is perfect, that "I might *do away that which is in part.* "Receive therefore this third teſtimonie by "me, and own me as a choſen apoſtle of "Jeſus Chriſt. If you will receive my "words, you will obtain ſalvation: if not, "you will be conſumed by everlaſting fire."

(*e*) Μάνης ὁ ἑαυτὸν εἰπὼν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. *Cat.* 16. *n. x. p.* 248. *D.*

(f) Ego, viri fratres, Chriſti quidem ſum diſcipulus, apoſtolus vero Jeſu. —— Sum quidem ego Paracletus, qui ab Jeſu mitti praedictus ſum, ad arguendum mundum de peccato, et de injuſtitia, ſicut et qui ante me miſſus eſt Paulus, ex parte ſcire, et ex parte prophetare ſe dixit; mihi reſervans quod perfectum eſt, ut hoc quod ex parte eſt deſtruam. Tertium ergo teſtimonium accipite, apoſtolum me eſſe Chriſti electum. Et ſi vultis mea verba accipere, invenietis ſalutem; nolentes autem, vos aeternus ignis abſumere habet. *Arch. n.* 13. *p.* 24.

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Theodoret ſays, that *(g) Mani* gave out he was the Chriſt, and called himſelf the Holy Ghoſt.

And, as *Jerome* expreſſeth it, ſome *(h)* pretended, that *Mani* was the Comforter himſelf. And to the like purpoſe *(i) Ruffin.*

It is not eaſie to conceive, how any man ſhould ſay all theſe things of himſelf: that he is the Chriſt, and an apoſtle of Chriſt, and the Holy Ghoſt himſelf. However, to reconcile theſe accounts, if poſſible, it may be obſerved, that perhaps ſome of theſe writers uſe words in a different ſenſe from that in which they are now generally underſtood by us: and when it is ſayd, that *Mani* pretended to be Chriſt; the meaning may be, that he acted like Chriſt, in chooſing for himſelf twelve companions: or, by Chriſt may be meant the holy Ghoſt, with whom Chriſt was anointed, and whom *Mani* pretended to

(g) —— ἐτόλμησεν ἑαυτὸν ὁ παμπόνηρος καὶ χριστὸν προσαγορεῦσαι, καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον ὀνομάσαι. *Thdrt. H. F. l.* 1. *c.* 26. *p.* 214.

(h) Sicut aliae haereſes Paracletum in Montanum veniſſe contendunt, et Manichaeum ipſum dicunt eſſe Paracletum. *ad Vigilant. T.* 4. *P.* 2. *p.* 285. *in.*

(i) Conſilium namque vanitatis eſt quod docet Manichaeus: primo, quod ſeipſum Paracletum nominavit. *Ruf. in Symb. ap. Hieron. T. v. p.* 142.

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to have received. So the word Chriſt is uſed in ſome ancient *(k)* writings, particularly in *(l)* the Acts of *Archelaus*.

As for his calling himſelf the Comforter, or the Holy Ghoſt, and an Apoſtle of Chriſt; poſſibly the meaning is, that he ſayd he had received the Holy Ghoſt, and was an Apoſtle of Chriſt, eminently furniſhed with ſpiritual gifts.

That muſt be the higheſt pretenſion he made. This is *Auguſtin*'s ſummarie account of the matter in his book of Hereſies. "They (*m*) ſay, that our Lord's promiſe of "ſending the Comforter, the Holy Ghoſt, "has been fulfilled in their maſter *Mani*. "And in his epiſtles he ſtiles himſelf Apoſ"tle of Jeſus Chriſt, foraſmuch as Chriſt "had promiſed him, and in him had ſent "the Holy Ghoſt. Accordingly he had

 "himſelf

(k) See Beauſ. T. i. p. 115. *and* 255.

(l) Hic eſt Chriſtus Dei, qui deſcendit ſuper eum, qui ex Maria eſt. *Arch. n.* 50. *p.* 93. *in. Vid. ib. n.* 34. *p.* 59. 60.

(m) Promiſſionem domini Jeſu Chriſti de Paracleto Spiritu Sancto in ſuo haereſiarcha Manichaeo dicunt eſſe completam. Unde ſe in ſuis literis Jeſu Chriſti apoſtolum dicit, eo quod Jeſus Chriſtus ſe miſſurum eſſe promiſerit, atque in illo miſerit Spiritum Sanctum. Propter quod etiam ipſe Manichaeus diſcipulos habuit, ad inſtar apoſtolici numeri, quem numerum Manichaei hodieque cuſtodiunt. *Aug. de Haer. c.* 46.

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" himſelf twelve diſciples, in imitation of " the number of the Apoſtles, which num- " ber is ſtill kept up by the Manicheans." Again, *Auguſtin* ſays, " the *(n)* Manicheans " pretended, that Chriſt's promiſe of ſending " the Holy Ghoſt had been fulfilled in their " leader." And in another place, " they " ſayd, that *(o)* the Holy Ghoſt, whom the " Lord had promiſed to ſend to his diſci- " ples, had come to them by him." Once more *Auguſtin* ſays, " that *Mani (p)* endea- " vored to perſuade men, that the Holy " Ghoſt did perſonally dwell in him with " full authority."

That this is all, which *Mani* can be ſuppoſed to have pretended to, is evident from the arguments made uſe of in confuting him. The ancient writers, in their anſwers, ſhew, that the promiſe of ſending the Holy Ghoſt had

(*n*) ——Mira caecitate aſſerentes eamdem Domini promiſſionem in ſuo haereſiarcha Manichaeo eſſe completam. *Aug. ad. Coret. Ep.* 237. *al.* 253. *n.* 2.

(*o*) Noſti enim, quod auctoris ſui Manichaei perſonam in apoſtolorum numerum inducere molientes, dicunt Spiritum Sanctum, quem Dominus ſe miſſurum eſſe promiſit, per ipſum ad nos veniſſe. *De Util. Cred. c.* 3. *n.* 7.

(*p*) Non enim parvi exiſtimari ſe voluit, ſed ſpiritum ſanctum conſolatorem et ditatorem fidelium tuorum, auctoritate plenaria perſonaliter in ſe eſſe perſuadere conatus eſt. *Confeſſ. l.* 5. *cap.* 5. *n.* 8.

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had been fulfilled in the Apoſtles ſoon after our Lord's aſcenſion: Whereas *Mani* did not appear until long after the death of all the Apoſtles, in the time of *Probus*, or *Aurelian*. This is largely argued by *(q) Archelaus*, *(r) Epiphanius* and others. And in the Diſpute itſelf *Mani* is repreſented explaining his claim in this manner, " that *(s)* the Spirit came " upon him." And *Archelaus* argues, that *(t)* the Holy Ghoſt was to deſcend upon and dwell in none but Chriſt, and *Paul*, and the other Apoſtles; that is, in the moſt eminent and extraordinarie manner.

All therefore that *Mani* could ſay is, that he was an Apoſtle of Chriſt, and had the Spirit as an Apoſtle.

But whether he ſayd ſo much, may be queſtioned. *Godfrey (u) Arnold*, a learned *German*, who wrote a Hiſtorie of Hereſies

(q) Vid. Arch. n. 27. 28.

(r) Ep. H. 66. *n.* 20. 21.

(s) Spiritum enim veniſſe ſuper te dixiſti, quem promiſerat Jeſus eſſe miſſurum. *Arch. n.* 50. *p.* 92. *m.*

(t) Et ſicut non ſuper omnes homines Spiritus habitare poterat, niſi ſuper eum qui de Maria natus eſt, ita et in nullum alium Spiritus Paracletus venire poterat, niſi ſuper apoſtolos, et ſuper beatum Paulum. *Arch. n.* 34. *p.* 59. *m.*

(u) Germanice illam epiſtolam [Fundamenti,] exhibet Gothofredus Arnoldus in Hiſtoria ſive Apologia Haereſium, T. iv. *Fabr. Bib. Gr. T. v. p.* 283.

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in his own language, denyes, that *Mani* took upon him any extraordinarie character: But *Beauſobre*, though a man of great candour, thinks, *Arnold* was miſtaken herein. "*Arnold (x)* was in the right to ſay, that *Mani* "never pretended to be the Comforter: but "he was in the wrong to deny, that he "aimed to paſs for the Prophet of the "Comforter; or a man extraordinarily ſent "to reveal to the Chriſtian church ſome "truths, which Jeſus Chriſt had not made "known to his diſciples. The Manicheans "themſelves had this opinion of their Pa"triarch." So *Beauſobre*.

I beg leave to conſider this point diſtinctly. I have not had the advantage of ſeeing *Arnold*'s work. I can only repreſent the caſe, as it appears to me.

Reaſons for thinking him an Impoſtor.

IV. In the firſt place I ſhall mention divers reaſons and arguments for thinking, that *Mani* was an impoſtor, and examine them. After which I ſhall mention ſome additional obſervations.

The reaſons and arguments are ſuch as theſe: 1. The ancient Greek and Roman Chriſtian authors repreſent his pretenſions, as

(x) *Hiſt. de Manich. T. i. p.* 239. 240.

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as very extraordinarie. 2. As do likewiſe the Eaſtern writers. 3. *Mani* imitated Chriſt in chooſing and ſending out twelve Apoſtles. 4. He called himſelf Apoſtle. 5. Divers other of his expreſſions ſhew him, to have pretended to a divine commiſſion. 6. His followers conceived of him, as an Apoſtle, or an inſpired teacher. 7. They rejected the book of the Acts, becauſe of the evidence it afforded, that the promiſe of ſending the Spirit had been fulfilled in the Apoſtles, and therefore could not belong to *Mani*. Sect. IV.

1. The ancient Greek and Roman Chriſtian writers repreſent *Mani*'s pretenſions, as very extraordinarie.

I anſwer, that we have ſhewn them to be miſtaken in ſeveral things. In particular, divers of them ſay, that *Mani* called himſelf the Comforter, which is not true. We muſt therefore look for ſome other evidence of his impoſture, beſide their word. *Mani* publiſhed ſeveral new notions, as doctrines of religion. Some might therefore ſay: "A "man that does this had need to be inſpired." And thence ſome might be led to conclude, that he actually pretended to be inſpired in an extraordinarie manner, and ſent by Chriſt to reveal new truths. Some might ſpeak of him

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him to this purpoſe. And others might take up this account without much examination.

2. The Eaſtern writers, whether *Perſians* or *Arabians*, whoſe account was formerly *(y)* taken, ſpeak of him in the like manner.

I anſwer, that thoſe writers are not very ancient. Their account of *Mani*'s impoſture, particularly his journey to heaven, is taken from the hiſtorie of *Mahomet*, who is much later than the perſon, whoſe affairs we are examining. Therefore probably that ſtorie is a fiction, without any real foundation. I formerly *(z)* obſerved a miſtake of theſe writers, (ſome of them at leſt,) concerning the place of *Mani*'s retirement. It is alſo very improbable, which is ſayd by the Eaſtern hiſtorians, as quoted by *Herbelot*, that numerous followers having been gained in *China*, or *Turkeſtan*, they all went into *Perſia* upon the death of *Sapor*. Nor did *Mani* attempt to paſs for a god. Once more, the Eaſtern writers are not agreed about the time in which *Mani* lived, ſome *(a)* placing him much later than others. The teſtimonie

(y) *See p.* 133.

(z) *See p.* 135.

(a) L' auteur du Tarikh Khozidek le fait plus modern, &c. *See Herbelot Bib. Orient. in Mani.*

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nie of theſe authors therefore is not to be relyed upon. Sect. IV.

3. The third argument is, that *Mani* imitated Chriſt in chooſing and ſending out twelve diſciples.

In anſwer to which I would ſay: Suppoſing, that he had twelve diſciples, and ſent them abroad to propagate his principles; it does not follow, that he was an impoſtor. For we have been informed by *(b) Auguſtin*, that this was the eccleſiaſtical conſtitution of the Manichean ſect. There were twelve of the Elect called Maſters, and a thirteenth, who was their Chief or Principal. If this was an inſtitution of *Mani* himſelf, and put in practiſe in his own time, he muſt have been the Principal; and perhaps only by way of an innocent, or at the worſt an affected imitation of the ſtate of things at the firſt riſe of the Chriſtion religion in the time of Chriſt and his Apoſtles: which, I ſuppoſe, is all that can be thought of their keeping up the ſame form in *Auguſtin*'s time.

But it may be queſtioned, whether *Mani* had twelve diſciples diſtinguiſhed from the reſt. It is true, *Euſebe* intimates as much. But what ground he had for it, we cannot ſay.

(b) See before, p. 87.

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ſay. However, *Auguſtin* (*c*) ſays it expreſsly, as does (*d*) *Theodoret*, about the year 420. But this is not to be found in more ancient authors, excepting *Euſebe* only, who has been juſt named. And there are two reaſons to doubt of it. *Firſt*, ſeveral ancient writers are ſilent about this particular, who would have mentioned it, if true. In (*e*) the Acts of the Diſpute with *Archelaus* there are but three of *Mani*'s diſciples named, whom likewiſe he is there ſayd to have ſent abroad to ſpread his opinions; one into the Eaſt, another into *Syria*, and the third into *Egypt*; *Thomas*, *Addas*, and *Hermas*: the ſame three that are mentioned by (*f*) *Cyril*, and (*g*) *Epiphanius*. *Secondly*, if *Mani* had twelve diſciples, whom he called Apoſtles, or employed as ſuch; it is likely, that their names would

(*c*) Propter quod etiam ipſe Manichaeus duodecim diſcipulos habuit, ad inſtar apoſtolici numeri. *Aug. de Haer. c.* 46.

(*d*) Οὗτος δυοκαίδεκα μαθητὰς κατὰ τὸν κυριακὸν ποιησάμενος τύπον. *Haer. Fab. l. i. p.* 214. *C.*

(*e*) Ταύτην δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν διδασκαλίαν παρέδωκε τοῖς τρισὶν αὐτοῦ μαθηταῖς, κελεύσας ἕκαστον εἰς κλίματα ὁδεύειν. *κ. λ. Arch. c. xi. p.* 22. Acquiſivit etiam diſcipulos tres, quorum nomina ſunt haec, Thomas, Addas et Hermas. *id. c.* 53. *p.* 98.

(*f*) Τούτου μαθηταὶ τρεῖς γεγόνασι, Θῶμας, καὶ βαδδᾶς, καὶ ἑρμᾶς. *Cyr. Cat. vi. n.* 31.

(*g*) *Epiph. H.* 66. *n. v. et. xii.*

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would have been tranſmitted to us by ſome ancient authors. But there is no ſuch catalogue any where to be found, except in the forementioned authors, *Photius*, *Peter*, and the Form of abjuring Manicheiſm: all which are too late to be of any authority, as was obſerved formerly. That catalogue too is itſelf lyable to ſeveral exceptions. In *(h) Photius* their names ſtand thus: *Siſinnius*, ſayd to have ſucceeded *Mani* in his *(i)* chair; *Thomas*, *Budas*, *Hermas*, *Adamantus*, and *Adimantus*; *Hierax*, *Hieraclides* and *Apthonius*, called *(k)* commentators upon *Mani*; *Agapius*, author of the *Heptalogus*, *Zarvas* and *Gaurialius*. And to the like purpoſe in the two other *(l)* writers. But it is plain, that this catalogue is of no value. In the Acts of *Archelaus* Sect. IV.

(h) Phot. contr. Manicb. l. i. n. 14.

(i) Σισίννιος, ὁ καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα αὐτῷ τῆς διδασκαλίας ἀναδεξάμενος. *ib.*

(k) ἐξηγηταὶ, δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ὅιον ὑπομνηματισταί. *ib.*

(l) Porro diſcipuli Maneti antichriſto fuere duodecim: Siſinnius, qui Maneti ſucceſſit: Thomas, qui Evangelium Manichaei novum condidit: Buddas, et Hermas, Adamantus et Adimantus, quem in diverſas orbis partes erroris praeconem amandavit. Manetis interpretes et explanatores erant Hierax, et Hieraclides, atque Apthonius. Adjuncti his et alii terni hujus ſectatores, Agapius, qui Heptalogum commentus eſt, Zarvas et Gabrialius. *Pet. Sic. de Man. ap. Bib. P. P. T.* 16. *p.* 758. *A.*

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Sect. IV. *Archelaus* (*m*) *Sisinnius* is sayd to have deserted *Mani*, and to have been a convert to the Catholic church. Then here are two or three different names, which are but one and the same person; *Budas*, *Adamantus*, and *Adimantus*; that is, *Addas*, otherwise called also *Buddas* and *Baddas*. *Apthonius* lived in the fourth centurie, as was (*n*) formerly shewn. *Hierax* was no (*o*) Manichean. *Touttée* has a good note upon *Cyril*, relating to this matter, which might be consulted. I put down a small part of *(p)* it.

4. The fourth argument is, that *Mani* called himself an Apostle of Jesus Christ. *Augustin* assures us, that *(q)* all his letters began in that manner; particularly, that (*r*) called the Epistle of the Foundation: "*Mani* "apostle of Jesus Christ by the providence "of

(*m*) *Arch. n.* 51. *p.* 94.

(*n*) *See p.* 70.

(*o*) *See before, p.* 77. *&c.*

(p) Quod quamvis antiqua sit illa de duodecim Manetis discipulis opinio, ab augustino in libro de Haeresibus, et Theodoreto commemorata, non tamen apud antiquiores legatur. Non id refert Archelaus, non Epiphanius. *In Cyril. Cat. p.* 107.

(q) Omnes tamen ejus epistolae sic exordiuntur: Manichaeus apostolus Jesu Christi. *Contr. Faust. l.* 13. *c.* 4.

(*r*) Certe sic incipit: Manichaeus apostolus Jesu Christi, providentia Dei Patris. *Contr. Ep. Manich. c.* 5. *n.* 6.

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" of God the Father:" In like manner (*s*) the Epiſtle to *Marcellus*, in the Acts of *Archelaus*; and the (*t*) Epiſtle to *Menoch*, cited by *Julian*, the Pelagian. Sect. IV.

Anſwer: If this title muſt be here underſtood in the higheſt and ſtrongeſt ſenſe, of a perſon commiſſioned by Chriſt, and inſpired as an Apoſtle; the argument is compleat, and unanſwerable: but poſſibly *Mani* meaned no more, than a diſciple of Chriſt, and a teacher of his religion. This may be argued from the paſſage already cited from *Auguſtin*, where he ſpeaks of the eccleſiaſtical conſtitution of the ſect. The word may be ſuppoſed to be ſo uſed in the Diſpute of *Archelaus*. That Biſhop having given hard words, *Mani* tells him, that (*u*) Apoſtles are patient and long-ſuffering: thereby, perhaps, intending to ſhew, what *Archelaus* ſhould be, as well as what he himſelf was, according to his own profeſſion. *Turbo*, when aſked

(*s*) *Arch. cap. v.*

(*t*) Manes apoſtolus Jeſu Chriſti filiae Menoch. *ap. Aug. Op. Imp. l.* 3. *c.* 172. Sed niſi Menoch filiam, et Manichaeum, qui ſe Chriſti apoſtolum nominat, titulus indicaret, te omnino ſuum pollicerentur auctorem. *Julian ib. c.* 187.

(*u*) Tu quoque, Archelae, bene me de Deo ſentientem, dignamque opinionem de Chriſto retinentem, verbis moleſtiſſimis obtundis, licet tale ſit apoſtolorum genus, patiens et ferens omnia, etiamſi eos convitiis quis, aut maledictis obtrectet. *Arch. c.* 47. *in.*

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aſked who he was, anſwered, that (*x*) he came from *Perſia*, and was ſent by *Mani*, a maſter of the Chriſtians; the very title, which, as *Auguſtin* informs us, was (*y*) given to twelve of the Manichean Elect in his own time: who yet, I preſume, were not reckoned inſpired Apoſtles. And maſters is a word made uſe of in (*z*) the Acts of *Archelaus*, to denote miniſters of the Catholic church. I might add, that the Eaſtern people are very apt to uſe a lofty ſtile. They give and take high titles, without incurring the ſuſpicion or charge of blaſphemie.

5. It is argued, that *Mani*'s impoſture may be proved by other high expreſſions made uſe of by him, beſide that of Apoſtle. In the Epiſtle to *Marcellus* he not only ſtiles himſelf Apoſtle of Jeſus Chriſt, but ſays alſo, that (*a*) he was ſent for the amendment and reformation of men. Several paſſages have

(*x*) De Perſida autem venio, a Manichaeo magiſtro Chriſtianorum miſſus. *ib. c.* 4.

(*y*) Nam ex electis ſuis habent duodecim, quos appellant magiſtros. *Aug. de Haer. c.* 46.

(*z*) Cui enim oportet credi? magiſtris illis veſtris, qui carnibus veſcuntur, et affluentiſſimis deliciis perfruuntur —— ? *Manes ap. Arch. c.* 13. *p.* 24.

(*a*) Ὅθεν πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν τῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους ἀποσταλείς. *ap. Arch. c.* 5.

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have been already cited *(b)* from the Diſpute of *Archelaus*, containing high pretenſions, which ſhould be recollected here: particularly, that paſſage, where he ſays: "If you "receive my words, you will obtain ſalva- "tion: if not, you will be conſumed with "everlaſting fire." But then it ſhould be remembered likewiſe, that in that piece are many miſrepreſentations of things. Sect. IV.

There are alſo ſtrong expreſſions at the begining of the Epiſtle of the Foundation. After having called himſelf Apoſtle he adds: "That *(c)* the words he is going to deliver "are wholſome words, proceeding from the "living fountain. He that hears and believes "and keeps them ſhall never dye, but ſhall "obtain a glorious and eternal life." Theſe expreſſions ought to be conſidered. If they relate to any doctrines not founded on Scripture, they contain a bold claim. But if he intends to recommend only ſcriptural doctrines, the interpretation may be ſoftened. And it is obſervable, that *Auguſtin* having cited thoſe

(b) See before p. 179.

(c) Haec ſunt, inquit, ſalubria verba ex perenni ac vivo fonte, quae qui audierit, et eiſdem primum crediderit, deinde quae inſinuant cuſtodierit, numquam erit morti obnoxius, verum aeterna et glorioſa vita fruetur. *ap. Aug. contr. Ep. Manicb. c. xi. n.* 12.

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words, does not, in his remarks upon them, cenſure them as wicked, or antichriſtian, or the like: but only ſays, that *(d)* here is indeed a promiſe of teaching the truth, but without good aſſurance; and that any body might ſay as much, to draw in ſimple people. *Auguſtin* then cites the words next following in that Epiſtle: "the *(e)* peace of the invisible God, and the knowledge of the "truth, be with the dear and holy brethren, "who both believe and keep the heavenly "commands:" which *Auguſtin* does not blame at all, but ſays, he readily joyns in the ſame wiſh: and if *Mani* never ſpoke otherwiſe, he might be read and followed by every body. Nay he ſeems to declare himſelf well ſatisfyed *(f)* with every thing at the beginning of that Epiſtle.

6. Still

(d) Et haec, ut videtis, pollicitatio eſt, nondum exhibitio veritatis: et vos quoque animadvertere facillime poteſtis, iſto velamine quoſlibet errores fucari poſſe, ut imperitorum animis per ornatam januam latenter irrepant. *Auguſt. ibid.*

(e) Pax, inquit, Dei inviſibilis, et veritatis notitia ſit cum fratribus ſanctis et cariſſimis, qui mandatis coeleſtibus credunt pariter atque deſerviunt. Ita ſit, ut dicit. Nam et iſta benigna et acceptiſſima optatio eſt. Tantum meminerimus haec et a bonis doctoribus et a deceptoribus dici poſſe. Itaque ſi nulla niſi talia diceret, omnibus legendum et amplectendum eſſe concederem. *ibid. n.* 13.

(f) Et omnino, quicquid in hujus epiſtolae initio ſcriptum eſt, donec veniatur ad cauſſam, nolo reprehendere. *ibid.*

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6. Still it is urged, that his followers conceived of him as an inſpired Apoſtle and Meſſenger of Chriſt, and honored him accordingly. Some of their expreſſions have been mentioned already, to which others may be now added.

Fauſtus conſidering that text Matt. v. 17. *I came not to deſtroy the law, but to fulfill*, ſays: "He *(g)* muſt be forever thankful to "his maſter, meaning *Mani*, for helping "him here. For otherwiſe, he had been "a Jew, not a Chriſtian." However he might ſpeak thus of *Mani*, though he conſidered him only as a good interpreter, and no inſpired Prophet or Apoſtle. In another place *Mani* is called *(h)* their Divine. What can be inferred from this, I do not know. I do not perceive any uncommon honour to be here given. *Fauſtus* alſo calls *Mani (i)* their bleſſed father. But perhaps no more is meaned thereby, than what the Catholics often

(g) Quare indeficientes ego praeceptori meo refero gratias, qui me ſimiliter labentem retinuit, ut eſſem hodie Chriſtianus. *Fauſt. l.* 19. *c.* 5.

(h) Sic enim mali principium ac naturam theologus noſter appellat. *Fauſt. l.* 20. *c.* 3.

(i) —— a doctiſſimo ſcilicet, et ſolo nobis poſt beatum patrem noſtrum Manichaeum ſtupendo Adimanto. *Fauſt. l.* i. *c.* 2.

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often ſayd of Saints and Martyrs. *Fauſtus* in another place ſpeaks *(k)* as if by the Spirit, whom they had received, they were enabled to diſcern, what texts of the New Teſtament are genuine, what not. But afterwards *(l)* he retracts in ſome meaſure thoſe bold expreſſions.

Farther, the Manicheans celebrated the day of their maſter's death. But ſo did the Catholics that of many Martyrs. *Mani*'s Epiſtle of the Foundation was read in the aſſemblies of his followers. And ſo likewiſe were ſome writings publicly read among the Catholics, which they never eſteemed canonical Scripture, or a part of the rule of their faith. Nay, I do not know, but here may offer a thought, which may afford a good argument, that the Manicheans did not eſteem their leader an Apoſtle. For if they had ſo done, they would have had more of his writings, and have publicly read them; whereas it ſeems, that the Manicheans in *Africa* had few of them. *Auguſtin*, who was nine years among them, and afterwards wrote

(k) Et nobis Paracletus ex novo teſtamento promiſſus perinde docet, quid accipere ex eodem debeamus, et quid repudiare. *Id. l.* 32. *c.* 6.

(l) ib. c. 7.

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wrote many volumes in the controverſie, has quoted very few, and does not ſpeak of any other book, or letter of his, being read in their aſſemblies, but the Epiſtle above named. Sect. IV.

And upon all theſe things, beſide what has been already hinted, I obſerve in general, that ſome, or all of theſe honours were payd by Catholics to men, who had not the character of Apoſtles: that it is no uncommon thing for honours to be given to men after their death, by ſome people, which they never expected or deſired; and that we ſhould interpret expreſſions, as they are intended to be underſtood. The Catholic Chriſtians often ſpeak (*m*) of mens receiving the Holy Ghoſt in baptiſm. In the Diſpute of *Archelaus* it is ſpoken of as an inconteſtable thing, that (*n*) the Spirit was ſtill given to men. And *Epiphanius* ſays, that (*o*) God according

(*m*) Καὶ γὰρ σὺ θείας ἀπήλαυσας χάριτος βαπτιζόμενος, καὶ πνεύματος μετέσχες, εἰ καὶ μὴ πρὸς τὰ σημεῖα ποιεῖν. *Chryſ. De Compunct. ad Dem. l. i. T. i. p.* 136. *D. Ed. Bened.*

(*n*) Spiritus enim ſecundum rectam rationem habitat in homine, et deſcendit, et permanet, et competenter hoc et factum eſt, et fit ſemper, ſicut tu teipſum ante hoc tempus profitebaris eſſe Paracletum Dei. *Arch. c.* 50. *p.* 92. *m.*

(*o*) Ὁ θεὸς γὰρ ἀεὶ τοῖς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐλπίζουσιν ἑτοιμάζει τὰς ἐκ πνεύματος

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cording to his promiſe beſtowed gifts of the Spirit largely upon the Preſbyter at *Diodoris*, to enable him to confute *Mani*: quoting alſo Matt. x. 19. But yet no one thinks, that apoſtolical inſpiration is here intended.

7. In the ſeventh place it is argued, that they rejected the Acts of the Apoſtles, becauſe of the evidence it afforded, that the promiſe of ſending the Spirit had been fulfilled in the Apoſtles of Chriſt, and therefore could not belong to *Mani*. *Auguſtin* (*p*) ſays as much.

I anſwer, *firſt*, whether the Manicheans always and univerſally rejected the book of the Acts, will be diſtinctly conſidered hereafter. *Secondly*, they were not obliged to reject the Acts for the reaſon here ſuppoſed. They might give the higheſt character to *Mani*, under Chriſt, and yet receive that book.

πνέυματος ἁγίου δωρεὰς ἐπιχορηγούμενος, ὡς καὶ ἐπηγγείλατο, ἀψευδὴς ὤν. *H.* 66. *n.* xi.

(*p*) Noſti autem, quod auctoris ſui Manichaei perſonam in apoſtolorum numerum inducere molientes, dicunt Spiritum Sanctum, quem Dominus diſcipulis ſe miſſurum eſſe promiſit, per ipſum ad nos veniſſe. Itaque ſi illos Actus Apoſtolorum acciperent, in quibus adventus Sancti Spiritus praedicatur, non invenirent, quomodo id immiſſum eſſe dicerent. *De Util. Cred. c.* 2. *n.* 7.

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book. The Montaniſts, as *(q) Auguſtin* obſerves, ſpoke of *Montanus*, as theſe people did of *Mani*. Yet (*) they readily received the Acts of the Apoſtles. The Manicheans could not deny, that the Holy Ghoſt was poured out upon Chriſt's Apoſtles. It is evident from St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles, which they received. Beſides, we know, that *(r)* they acknowledged the divine illumination of the Apoſtles, and admitted their authority in every thing ſayd by them, when ſo illuminated. "This, ſays *(s) Fauſtus*, is the doctrine of "Chriſt and his Apoſtles, and for certain

(q) Nam quidam Manichaei canonicum librum, cujus titulus eſt, Actus Apoſtolorum, repudiant. Timent enim evidentiſſimam veritatem, ubi apparet Sanctus Spiritus miſſus, qui eſt a Domino Jeſu Chriſto in evangelica veritate promiſſus. Sub ejus quippe Spiritus nomine, a quo penitus alieni ſunt, indocta hominum corda decipiunt, mira caecitate aſſerentes eamdem Domini promiſſionem in ſuo haereſiarcha Manichaeo eſſe completam. Quod et illi haeretici faciunt, qui vocantur Cataphryges, dicentes, per neſcio quos inſanos, Montanum ſcilicet et Priſcillam, quos et proprios ſuos prophetas habent, veniſſe Spiritum Sanctum, quem Dominus miſſurum ſe eſſe promiſit. *Aug. Ep.* 237. [*al.* 253.] *n.* 2.

(*) *See Tertullian, in this work, V.* 2. *p.* 586. or 588.

(r) Et nos de Teſtamento novo ſola accipientes ea, quae in honorem et laudem Filii majeſtatis vel ab ipſo dicta comperimus, vel ab ejus apoſtolis, ſed jam perfectis et fidelibus. *Fauſt. l.* 32. *c.* 7.

(s) —— ut fere Chriſto placet, et ejus apoſtolis, et nobis profecto. —— *Fauſt. l.* 24. *c.* 1.

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" ours likewiſe." Again, ſays *Fauſtus*, " This " *(t)* we believe, not without ground, but " upon the authority of Chriſt and his " Apoſtles, who firſt taught this doctrine." They did not deny, that the Holy Ghoſt was given to the Apoſtles. All that they could be led to ſay is, that ſome farther diſcoveries were made by *Mani*. But I diſpute their ſaying ſo much as that. *Thirdly*, they might have other reaſons for rejecting the Acts, different from that aſſigned by *Auguſtin*. According to their notions, they could not approve of the death of *Ananias* and *Sapphira*, nor the blindneſſe of *Elymas*. They could not like any text, where Jeſus is called a *man*, as Acts ii. 22. And they diſliked all references therein to the books of the Old Teſtament. *Finally*, they never told *Auguſtin*, that they rejected the Acts for the reaſon mentioned by him. It does not appear, that he had any hint of it from them. But it is a conjectural reaſon of his own invention, after he had left them: as is evident *(u)* from what precedes the paſſage

(t) Neque id temere aut praeſumtive, ſed a Chriſto diſcentes et ejus apoſtolis, qui primi eadem in mundo docuiſſe probantur. *Id. l.* 24. *c. i. fin.*

(u) Hoc enim de illo libro fecerunt, qui Actus Apoſtolorum

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paſſage above (*x*) quoted. And therefore he entreats *Honoratus*, candidly to weigh and examine the reaſon propoſed by him, and judge, whether it is not right. For, he ſays, he had often wondred at their conduct in rejecting that book, without being able to find out what ground they went upon in ſo doing.

Additional Obſervations.

V. I have now conſidered the moſt material reaſons and arguments for thinking, that *Mani* was an impoſtor, and pretended to apoſtolical inſpiration. I beg leave to add ſome farther obſervations.

1. It is not a pleaſing thing, unleſs there be very cogent reaſons, to fix the charge of impoſture on a Chriſtian, and a man of great knowledge and underſtanding, as *Mani* was. All muſt be ſenſible, that he is treated roughly enough in the Acts of *Archelaus*. Yet even there he is ſometimes repreſented ſpeaking honeſtly, and like a good Chriſtian, and with a due regard to the authority of Jeſus

rum inſcribitur. Quod eorum conſilium, cum mecum ipſe pertracto, nequeo ſatis mirari. —— Sed nimirum illud eſt quod mihi videtur, quod peto placidiſſimo et ſereniſſimo judicio mecum conſideres. Noſti enim quod auctoris ſui, &c. *De Util. Cred. c. 2. n. 7.*

(*x*) *See p. 198. note (p).*

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Jesus Christ. Moreover we suppose, that he suffered a violent death, which was commemorated by his followers in a solemn manner. And there is reason to believe, that the occasion of it was innocent, if not honorable. If he attempted to cure the King's son, and did not succeed; no reasonable person can think, he failed designedly. But there is a great deal of reason to suppose, that all that storie is fictitious. It is more probable, that he dyed a Martyr to some principles, philosophical or religious, or both.

2. The accounts of his pretension to inspiration are not easily reconciled with other accounts, given by the same writers, of his borrowing his peculiar principles from other men; from *Scythian*, and *Terebinth*, and *Pythagoras*, and *Empedocles*, and I know not how many more. *Eusebe* and others say, his system was patched up out of ancient heresies. *Archelaus*, or whoever composed the Dispute under his name, particularly desires, the by-standers and hearers to take notice, that (y) the doctrine taught by *Mani* was not

(y) Addidit etiam hoc Archelaus dicens, Viri fratres, ne quis vestrum incredulus sit his, quae a me dicta sunt, id est, quod non ipse primus auctor scelerati hujus dogmatis extiterit Manes; sed tantum, quod per ipsum aliquibus terrae partibus manifestatum sit. *Arch. n.* 55. *p.* 100.

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not his own invention. *Cyril* says, that *(a)* he collected every thing bad in former hereſies: and for that reaſon he calls him a *(a)* thief, appropriating to himſelf what were other mens things, though they were very bad. *Auguſtin* expreſsly affirms, that *(b)* in the doctrine about two principles, and natures, *Mani* followed more ancient heretics. The ancients therefore were ſenſible, that *Mani*'s doctrine was not new. Learned moderns are of the ſame opinion, and allow, that in the main his principles had been taught before by divers Heathen Philoſophers, and Chriſtian ſects. Mr. *Wolff* of *Hamburgh* wrote a learned work, entitled *(c)* *Manicheiſm before Mani*, where this is largely ſhewn. And *Beauſobre* likewiſe *(d)* deſerves to be conſulted upon this point. Sect. IV.

3. Though

(a) —— διαφθείσατο μώνης, ὁ τὰ τῶν αἱρέσεων πασῶν κακὰ συνειληφώς —— τὰ πάντων συλλέξας ὁμῶ τῶν αἱρετικῶν. *Cat.* 16. *n.* 9. *p.* 247. *D.*

(a) Κλέπτης γάρ ἐστιν ἀλλοτρίων κακῶν, ἐξιδιοποιούμενος τὰ κακά. *id. Cat.* 6. *n.* 21. *p.* 100.

(b) Iſte duo principia inter ſe diverſa, —— duaſque naturas atque ſubſtantias, —— ſequens alios haereticos, opinatus eſt. *De Haer. c.* 46. *in.*

(c) *Manichaeiſmus ante Manichaeos, et in Chriſtianiſmo redivivus. Hamb.* 1707.

(d) *See him T. i. p.* 29 —— 41.

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3. Though *Mani*, at the begining of his Epiſtles, called himſelf Apoſtle of Chriſt; we do not plainly perceive from any remaining fragments of his works, that he profeſſed to teach in the name of Chriſt, and by ſpecial authority under him, or to deliver dictates of the Holy Ghoſt.

4. If *Auguſtin* had found ſuch expreſſions in any of *Mani*'s works, which he met with, where he pretends to ſpeak by inſpiration; it is likely, that he would not have inſiſted ſo much as he does upon (*e*) that ſingle appellation of Apoſtle of Chriſt. Moreover, *Auguſtin* having cited a part of the Epiſtle of the Foundation, where *Mani* delivers ſome of his notions about two principles, he adds: "How *(f)* will he prove theſe "things to me? how came he to know "them himſelf?" If *Mani* had any where declared, that theſe things had been communicated to him by ſpecial revelation, *Auguſtin* would have taken notice of it here. Nay it ſeems to me, that *(g)* from the following words

(*e*) *Vid. Aug. contr. Ep. Manich. cap. vi. vii. viii.*

(f) Haec mihi nnde probaturus eſt, aut haec ipſe unde cognovit? *ib. c.* 13. *n.* 17.

(g) Et quoniam quaeſivi unde ipſe probet, nunc quaero unde ipſe cognoverit? Si dicit ſibi eſſe revelatum a Spiritu Sanc-

to,

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words of *Auguſtin* it may be ſtrongly argued, and even concluded, that *Mani* did not make uſe of ſuch expreſſions, to recommend his uncertain diſputed doctrines, or to aſſure the truth of them, and that it was not his manner of teaching.

5. The leading principles of *Mani*'s ſcheme, wherein he differed from other Chriſtians, are of a philoſophical nature. Such principles may be recommended without pretending to inſpiration. *Felix* in the Diſpute with *Auguſtin* boaſts, "that *(h) Mani* had taught "them the begining, midle and end: who "made the world, why, and out of what; "the courſe of the ſun and moon, and other "things." *Auguſtin (i)* anſwers, that Chriſt promiſed

to, ſuamque mentem divinitus illuſtratam, ut ea quae dicit, certa et manifeſta cognoſceret; ipſe ſignificat, quid interſit inter cognoſcere et credere. —— Debuit ergo non nobis polliceri ſcientiam, neque manifeſtam cognitionem; —— ſed dicere potius ſibi iſta eſſe monſtrata, illos autem quibus narrantur credere ſibi debere quae neſciunt. *ib. n.* 18.

(h) Et quia venit Manichaeus, et per ſuam praedicationem docuit nos initium, medium et finem: docuit nos de fabrica mundi, quare facta eſt, et unde facta eſt, et qui fecerunt: docuit nos, quare dies, et quare nox: docuit nos de curſu ſolis et lunae. *Act. cum. Fel. l. i. c.* 9.

(i) Non legitur in Evangelio Dominum dixiſſe, Mitto vobis Paracletum, qui vos doceat de curſu ſolis et lunae. Chriſtianos enim facere volebat, non mathematicos. *Aug. ib. c.* 10.

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promiſed to ſend the Spirit, to teach us all truth, meaning religious truth: not to make us Mathematicians and Philoſophers, but Chriſtians.

6. *Mani* and his followers were great reaſoners. So he is repreſented in many places *(k)* of the Acts of *Archelaus*. Such an one was *Fauſtus*. He openly profeſſeth, that *(l)* the doctrine of *Mani* taught him not to receive every thing recommended, as ſayd by our Saviour: but firſt to examine, and conſider, whether it be true, ſound, right, genuine: whilſt the Catholics, he ſays, ſwallowed every thing, and acted, as if they deſpiſed the benefit of human reaſon, and were afraid to examine, and diſtinguiſh between truth and falſhood.

(k) Pro nimia autem humanitate Marcelli adeſſe feſtinavi, ut qualiter obſervare modum divinae religionis eum edoceam: ne ſicut muta animalia, quae intellectu carent, nec quid agunt advertunt, ita etiam Marcellus, —— *ap. Arch. n.* 13. *p.* 24. *Vid. ib. p.* 7. 8. 25. *et paſſim.*

(l) Et tamen me quidem adverſus capituli hujus neceſſitudinem Manichaea fides reddidit tutum, quae principio mihi non cunctis quae ex Salvatoris nomine ſcripta leguntur paſſim credere perſuaſit, ſed probare, ſi ſint eadem vera, ſi ſana, ſi incorrupta. ——Tu vero qui temere credis, qui naturae beneficium rationem ex hominibus damnas, cui inter verum falſumque judicare religio eſt, cuique bonum a contrario ſeparare, non minus formidini eſt, quam infantibus maniae, &c. *Fauſt. l.* 18. *c.* 3.

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falſhood. He inſinuates elſewhere, that *(m)* the Catholics eſteemed that a faith not worth naming, which depended upon reaſons: The Chriſtian religion, they ſayd, is a plain and ſimple thing, and curious inquiries are needleſs and inſignificant. I put in the margin *(n)* another like reflection of his. They were not pretenſions to inſpiration, but ſpecious and alluring promiſes of rational diſcoveries, by which *Auguſtin* was deluded, as he *(o)* particularly ſays in his letter to his friend *Honoratus*. His words are ſtrong and remarkable. Sect. IV.

(*m*) Sed tamen hoc enervis fidei confeſſio eſt, in Chriſtum ſine teſte et argumento non credere. Nempe ipſi vos docere ſoletis, idcirco nihil eſſe curioſius exquirendum, quia ſimplex ſit et abſoluta Chriſtiana credulitas. *Id. l.* 12. *c. i. in.*

(*n*) At, inquis, beatiores appellat, qui non viderunt et crediderunt. Hoc ſi ideo dictum putas, ut ſine ratione et judicio quidque credamus; eſto tu beatior ſine ſenſu, ego mihi contentus ero cum ratione beatus audiſſe. *Id. l.* 16. *c.* 8. *fin.*

(*o*) Noſti enim, Honorate, non aliam ob cauſam nos in tales homines incidiſſe, niſi quod ſe dicebant terribili auctoritate ſeparata, mera et ſimplici ratione eos qui ſe audire vellent introductoros in Deum, et errore omni liberaturos. Quid enim me aliud cogebat, annos fere novem, ſpreta religione quae mihi puerulo a parentibus inſita erat, homines illos ſequi ac diligenter audire, niſi quod nos ſuperſtitione teneri, et fidem nobis ante rationem imperari dicerent, ſe autem nullum premere ad fidem, niſi prius diſcuſſa et enodata veritate? —— Tu, —— qua quaeſo alia re delectatus es, recordare obſecro te, niſi magna quadam praeſumtione ac pollicitatione rationum? *De Util. Cred. c. i. n.* 2.

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Sect. IV.

markable. And therefore I tranſcribe them largely at the bottom of the page. *Auguſtin* almoſt continually repreſents this, as the characteriſtic of the ſect, and the main pretenſe, by which they ſeduced *(p)* men. They *(q)* ridiculed the frightful authority of the Church: They *(r)* bantered the Catholic credulity, and *(s)* promiſed men ſcience and demonſtration. Upon this *(t)* point turns *Auguſtin*'s book to his friend *Honoratus*, ſtill a Manichean, which alſo is entitled Of the Uſefulneſſe of believing. In another place *Auguſtin*

(p) Nonnulli autem haeretici, quia non decipiunt, niſi cum ſcientiam, quam non exhibent, pollicentur, —— *De Diverſis Quaeſt.* 83. *Qu.* 68. *n.* 1. *Tom.* 6.

(q) *See juſt before, note* (*o*).

(*r*) Eſt igitur mihi propoſitum, ut probem tibi, ſi poſſim, quod Manichaei ſacrilege ac temere invehantur in eos, qui catholicae fidei auctoritatem ſequentes, ante quam illud verum quod pura mente conſpicitur, intueri queant, credendo praemuniuntur. *De Ut. Cred. n.* 2. *in. vid. et not.* (*o*). Vos enim noſtis, temere credentibus quam vehementer inſultare ſoleatis. *Contr. Ep. Manich. c.* 13. *n.* 17.

(*s*) Quid infelicius iſta ſuperſtitione inveniri poteſt, quae non modo non exhibet ſcientiam quam promittit et veritatem, ſed ea dicit quae vehementer ſunt ſcientiae veritatique contraria? *Contr. Ep. Manich. c.* 15. *n.* 19.

(t) Jam vero —— ſcripſi librum de utilitate credendi, ad amicum meum, quem deceptum a Manichaeis, adhuc eo errore noveram detineri, et irridere in catholicae fidei diſciplina quod juberentur homines credere, non autem quid eſſet verum certiſſima ratione docerentur. *Retr. l. i. c.* 14.

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guſtin complains of them, that they (*u*) ſet up reaſon above authority, or Scripture. Sect. IV.

7. *Mani* made no pretenſions to miraculous powers. This is particularly inſiſted upon in (*x*) the Acts of *Archelaus*. If it ſhould be here ſayd, that his attempt to cure the King of *Perſia*'s ſon was pretending to do a miracle: I might anſwer, that ſtorie is not credibly related. But ſetting aſide that conſideration, for the preſent; I think, that what is ſayd in the forementioned Acts about his doing no miracles ought to induce us to ſuppoſe, *Mani* did not pretend to a miraculous cure. Nor do the Acts, in the relation of that attempt, ſay ſo: but that he (*y*) took upon

(*u*) Unde igitur exordiar? ab auctoritate, an a ratione? Naturae quidem ordo ita ſe habet, ut cum aliquid diſcimus, rationem praecedat auctoritas. —— Sed quoniam cum iis nobis res eſt, qui omnia contra ordinem et ſentiunt, et loquuntur, et gerunt, nihilque aliud maxime dicunt, niſi rationem prius eſſe reddendam, morem illis geram. *De Mor. E. C. c.* 2. *n.* 3.

(*x*) Et poſt iſta omnia mandata, iſte nec ſignum quidem aliquod, aut prodigium ullum oſtendens. *Arch. c.* 35. *p.* 61. *f.* Et haec quidem non inexplorata proloquor; ſed ex eo quod nullam te video facere virtutem, ita de te ſentio. &c. *ib. c.* 36. *p.* 63.

(*y*) —— praeſentiam ſuam Manes exhibet apud regem, dicens ſe eſſe puerum curaturum. —— Verum ne multa narrando quae geſſit, taedium auditoribus inferam, mortuus eſt puer in manibus ejus, vel potius extinctus. *ib. c.* 53. *p.* 98.

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upon him to cure the King's ſon, and killed him. Which leads us to think, he made uſe of ſome external means that proved hurtful. *Epiphanius* ſays, he (*z*) had recourſe to medicines, but his hopes of cure failed him: *Cyril*, that (*a*) he promiſed to cure the young Prince by prayer. Nor was it, I think, unbecoming a pious man, and a teacher of religion, if called in upon occaſion of ſickneſſe, to make uſe of prayer. However, it muſt be owned, that *(b) Cyril* likewiſe ſpeaks of *Mani*'s killing the King's ſon; which, as already obſerved, ſeems to imply ſome external applications that were prejudicial: provided, there is any foundation at all for this ſtorie.

8. I do not recollect, that *Mani* or his followers were ever famous for viſions and revelations, as ſome others have been. It is indeed ſayd in the Acts of *Archelaus*, that (*c*) *Mani* was admoniſhed in a dream of the King's

(*z*) —— τινὰ ἴσως φαρμακευτικῆς προσενέγκας τῷ νοσηλευομένῳ παιδὶ τὲ βασιλέως. *H.* 66. *n.* 4.

(*a*) ἀλλ' ὁ μάνης ἐπηγγέλλετο διὰ προσευχῆς ὑγιανεῖ ἐυσεβὴς κατορθώσειν. *Cat.* 6. *n.* 25.

(b) —— τὲ παιδὸς τὸν φόνον. *ib. u.* 26.

(*c*) Quod cum rex Perſarum cognoviſſet, dignis eum ſuppliciis ſubdere parat. Quo Manes agnito, admonitus in ſomniis, elapſus de carcere, in fugam verſus eſt, auro plurimo cuſtodibus corruptis. *Arch. c.* 54. *p.* 99.

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King's design to put him to death. But surely every one perceives that to be ridiculous. Does a man, imprisoned by order of his Prince, need a revelation to let him know, he had best escape, if he can? It may also, perhaps, be worth while to observe here, that *Mani*'s deliverance is not ascribed to magic, or any such like thing, but to *(d)* a large sum of money, by which he bribed his keepers. As for the journey to heaven, mentioned by some Eastern writers; I suppose, that no one can think it worthie of any regard. In a word, the Manicheans, as it seems, were rather a sect of reasoners and philosophers, than visionaries and enthusiasts.

It is observable, that *Gregorie Nazianzen* mentioning, all together, the *(e)* Montanists, Manicheans, Novatians and Sabellians, distinguishes the first by their pretense of inspiration, without imputing any such thing to any of the rest. And in like manner in another *(f)* place, where, beside the forenamed,

(d) See the preceding note (c).

(e) Μοντάνε δὲ τὸ πονηρὸν πνεῦμα, καὶ τε μάνε σκότε, κ. λ. *Greg. Or. 23. p. 414. C.*

(f) Μοντάνε τὸ πονηρὸν πνεῦμα, καὶ γυναικεῖον· Μάνε τὴν ὕλην μετὰ τῆς σκότους· Ναυάτε τὴν ἀλαζόνειαν, κ. λ. *Or. 25. p. 441. B.*

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are alſo mentioned *Valentin*, *Marcion*, and ſome others.

Not that the Manicheans were ſilent about the Spirit. No, for certain, they, as well as other Chriſtians, claimed an intereſt in the promiſe of the Spirit made by Chriſt. But whereas *Auguſtin* ſays, they *(g)* pretended, that the *Spirit came to us by Mani*, I am not fully ſatisfyed about the juſtneſſe of his expreſſion. One might be rather apt to conclude from *(h)* words of *Fauſtus*, and even from thoſe words of *Auguſtin* juſt cited, *came to us*, that they conſidered the gift of the Spirit, as a bleſſing common to believers under the goſpel diſpenſation.

If they had gone upon the ground of a particular inſpiration in *Mani*, it might be expected, that the traces of that high notion concerning their maſter ſhould appear more diſtinctly, than they do, in the diſcourſes of the Manicheans, with whom *Auguſtin* diſputed.

(g) —— dicunt Spiritum Sanctum, quem Dominus diſcipulis ſe miſſurum eſſe promiſit, per ipſum [Manichaeum,] ad nos veniſſe. *De Util. Cred. c.* 3. *n.* 7.

(h) —— et nobis Paracletus ex Novo Teſtamento promiſſus perinde docet —— de quo ultro Jeſus, cum eum promitteret, dicit in Evangelio, Ipſe vos inducet in omnem veritatem, et ipſe vobis annuntiabit omnia, et commemorabit omnia. *Fauſt. ap. Aug. l.* 32. *cap.* 6.

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puted. *Fortunatus* ſeems to uſe ſtrong expreſſions to the contrarie, when he ſays: "He *(i)* knows, that he cannot by any "means ſhew his faith to be right, unleſs "he proves it by the authority of the Scrip-"tures." Sect. IV.

Upon the whole, I do not chooſe to deny, that *Mani* was an impoſtor. But I do not diſcern evident proofs of it. I plainly ſee, that he was an arrogant Philoſopher, and a great ſchemiſt: but whether he was an impoſtor, I cannot certainly ſay. He was abundantly too fond of philoſophical notions, which he endeavored to bring into religion. For this he is to be blamed. But every bold dogmatiſer is not an impoſtor.

I put down *Beauſobre*'s judgement upon this point, when I entred upon the conſideration of this queſtion. I muſt here take notice of ſeveral other of his places, where he delivers his opinion concerning this matter. I do it for the ſake of my readers, as well as myſelf: that none who are deſirous of information, and judging rightly, may be

(i) Et quia nullo genere recte me credere oſtendere poſſum, niſi eamdem fidem ſcripturarum auctoritate firmaverim, *Diſp. Fortun. l. 2. n. 20.*

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deſtitute of any helps that can be obtained for theſe purpoſes.

He ſays, in the preface to his work, "that *(k) Mani* took the character of an "Apoſtle of Chriſt, and a Prophet immediatly inſpired by the Paraclet, to reveal "to the world truths, in which our Lord "thought not proper to inſtruct his firſt diſciples. This was his impoſture or fanaticiſm. For whatever the ancients may "ſay, there are no evident proofs, that he "ever endeavored to paſs for the Paraclet, "or the Spirit." He elſewhere ſpeaks of *Mani*'s pretending *(l)* to a divine vocation. However, he likewiſe expreſſeth himſelf after this manner, ſpeaking at the ſame time both of *Mani*, and ſome others called heretics: "In (*m*) what then conſiſted their errour? "Theſe heretics were Philoſophers, who "having formed certain ſyſtems accommodated revelation to them: which was the "ſervant of their reaſon, not the miſtreſſe. "*Mani*, in particular, boaſted of having a "perfect knowledge of all things, of having "baniſhed myſteries, and given a true ac-

"count

(k) T. i. Pr. p. x. xi.
(l) T. i. p. 179. 180.
(m) B. Hiſt. de Manich. T. i. p. 94.

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" count of every thing: which the Manichæ-
" ans called the knowledge of the begining,
" midle and end of all things. St. *Auguſtin*
" confeſſeth, that what ſeduced him in his
" youth was the hope of underſtanding every
" thing by demonſtration, and of knowing
" God by the ſole light of reaſon, without
" the help of faith." Again, ſays the ſame learned author: " As *(n)* for his hereſie, in
" general, it was properly ſpeaking a philo-
" ſophical ſyſtem, the grounds of which he
" found in the philoſophie of the *Magi*, and
" which he accommodated, as well as he
" could, to the revelation of Jeſus Chriſt.
" Herein he did nothing, but what had been
" done before by many Greeks, and both
" Greeks and Latins have been doing almoſt
" ever ſince. In all times have been ſeen Phi-
" loſophers, whoſe minds were filled with the
" ideas and notions of *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*:
" which, under ſlight pretexts, they have
" mingled with Chriſtian truths, and erected
" into articles of faith."

So *Beauſobre (o)*. I readily aſſent to him in what he ſays of the philoſophical nature

(n) *ib. p.* 179.

(o) *See him alſo, T. i. p.* 426. *note* (4). *and T. 2. p.* 853.

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of *Mani*'s ſyſtem. Whether he pretended to divine inſpiration, I cannot ſay. However, I leave every one to judge, as he ſees good. But I own, I had rather vindicate a Chriſtian from the charge of impoſture, than pronounce him guilty, unleſs the evidence againſt him be clear and full.

We now proceed to a more diſtinct examination of the Manichean principles.

Their Sentiments of the divine perfections.

VI. *Mani* had honorable ſentiments of the Deity, as ſelf-exiſtent, eternal, compleatly happy, and perfect in goodneſſe. So much is evident from the paſſage of *Fortunatus* above quoted, and from a paſſage of *Mani* himſelf to be taken notice of preſently.

Of his Omnipotence.

They owned God to be Almighty. Both *(p) Fortunatus* and *(q) Fauſtus* aſcribe to God that attribute. Indeed they did not believe, this world of ours to be made out of nothing. However, perhaps that was not from a ſuppoſition of the want of ſuch power in God, but becauſe, they imagined *(r)* things would have

(p) —— a Deo omnipotente. *Fortun. ap. Aug. Diſp. i, n.* 17.

(q) —— quia et omnipotentem Deum colam. *Fauſt. l.* 20. *c.* 4.

(r) —— Quomodo autem et condere potuit creaturas, non ſubſiſtente materia? Si enim de non extantibus, conſequetur has

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have been better than they are, perfectly good, without any mixture of evil, if the matter, of which they consisted, had been of divine original. Sect. IV.

Of his Immensity.

But *Mani* and his followers did not believe the divine immensity, or (*s*) that as to his nature he was in all places. For part of space, according to them, was occupied by Hyle, the evil principle, matter. But though they limited the divine essence in point of space, they did not limit God in point (*t*) of power and knowledge. This appears from *Augustin*, who owns, the (*u*) Manicheans taught, that God had prepared an eternal prison for the nation of darkness. Therefore God's dominion must be over all.

Whether they believed two Gods.

Upon account of their doctrine of two principles, to be taken notice of hereafter, the

has visibiles creaturas meliores esse, et omnibus virtutibus plenas. *Manes ap. Arch. n.* 14. *p.* 27.

(*s*) Ego duas naturas esse dico, unam bonam, et alteram malam, et eam quidem, quae bona est, in quibusdam partibus habitare.——Si enim dicimus monarchiam unius naturae, et omnia Deum replere, et nullum esse extra eum locum, quis erit creaturae susceptor? ubi gehenna ignis? ubi tenebrae exteriores? ubi fletus? *Manes ap. Arch. n.* 14. *p.* 26.

(*t*) *See Beauf. T. i. p.* 505. 506.

(*u*) Ipsi enim dicunt, Deum genti tenebrarum aeternum carcerem praeparare, quam dicunt esse inimicam Deo. *Contr. Adim. c.* 7. *n.* 1.

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the Manicheans are often charged with believing two Gods. So *Turbo*, in the Acts of *Archelaus*, expreſsly ſays of *Mani*: "He (x) "worſhips two Gods, ſelf-exiſtent, eternal, "oppoſite to each other, one good, the "other bad." And *Socrates* ſayd, that (y) *Mani* taught his diſciples to worſhip many Gods.

Fauſtus particularly conſiders this point. "Is (z) there one God? or are there two "Gods? For certain, one. Why then do "you ſay, there are two Gods? That is no "doctrine of ours. Why do you ſuſpect it "to be ſo? Becauſe you believe two princi-"ples, one good, the other bad. It is true, we "believe two principles: but one of theſe "we call God, the other Hyle; or ſome-"times in common diſcourſe, the devil." However,

(x) Οὗτος δύο σέβει θεὸς ἀγεννήτους, αὐτοφυεῖς, ἀϊδίους, ἕνα τῷ ἑνὶ ἀντικείμενον, τὸν μὲν ἀγαθὸν, τὸν δὲ πονηρὸν εἰσηγεῖται. *ap. Arch. n. 7. p. 9.*

(y) πολλοὺς θεοὺς σέβειν ὁ μανιχαῖος προτρέπεται. *Socr. l. i. c. 22.*

(z) Unus Deus eſt, an duo? Plane unus. Quomodo ergo vos duos aſſeritis? Nunquam in noſtris quidem aſſertionibus duorum deorum auditum eſt nomen. Sed tu unde hoc ſuſpicaris, cupio ſcire. Quia bonorum et malorum duo principia traditis. Eſt quidem quod duo principia confitemur, ſed unum ex his Deum vocamus, alterum Hylen: aut ut communiter, et uſitate dixerim, daemonem. *Fauſt. l. 21. in.*

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However, he adds afterwards: "I own, "that (*a*) we ſometimes call the adverſe na- "ture God: not that it is ſo eſteemed by us, "but by thoſe who worſhip it: even as "the Apoſtle ſpeaks of the *God of this* "*world blinding the eyes of them that believe* "*not.*" See 2 Cor. iv. 4.

They believed God, Creator.

They likewiſe conſidered God as the creator of the heavens and the earth, and all things that are therein, as *(b) Auguſtin* aſſures us: which is very different from what is ſayd of them by (*c*) *Athanaſius*, and *(d) Ruffin.* Foraſmuch therefore as ſome writers deny, that the Manicheans aſcribed the creation of the world to the good principle, and

(*a*) Nam nec diffiteor, etiam interdum nos adverſam naturam nuncupare deum, ſed non hoc ſecundum noſtram fidem, verum juxta praeſumtum jam in eam nomen a cultoribus ſuis, qui eam imprudenter exiſtimant deum, &c. *ib. ad fin.*

(*b*) Vos autem fatemini univerſum iſtum mundum, qui nomine coeli et terrae ſignificatur, habere auctorem et fabricatorem Deum, et Deum bonum. *De Mor. Manich. c. x. n.* 16.

(*c*) Καὶ γὰρ καὶκεῖνοι [μανιχαῖοι] μόνον ἄχρις ὀνόματος ἀγαθὸν θεὸν ὀνομάζουσι, καὶ ἔργον μὲν αὐτὸ οὐδὲ βλεπόμενον οὐδὲ φόβητρον δεικνύειν δύνανται· τὸν δὲ ἀληθινὸν καὶ ὄντως ὄντα θεὸν, τὸν ποιητὴν ὑρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, καὶ πάντων τῶν ὁρατῶν ἀρνούμενοι, παντελῶς εἰσι μυθολόγοι. *Ath. Ep. Enc. ad. Ep. Æg. et Lib. n.* 16. *T. i. p.* 285. *E.*

(*d*) Tum deinde quod mundum a malo factum dicit, Deum creatorem negat. *Ruf. in Symb. ap. Hieron. Opp. T.* 5. *p.* 142.

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and ſome other heretics alſo are ſaid to have diſowned God as creator; I ſhall put down a paſſage or two more from (*e*) *Auguſtin*, and (*f*) the author *De Fide*, where they allow, that the Manicheans ſpoke of God as the maker of the world. And *Titus* of *Boſtra* giving an account of their notion upon this head ſays, that (*g*) the univerſe, according to them, conſiſted indeed of a mixture of good and bad, but was formed by the good principle, that is, God. For the evil principle knew nothing beforehand of the formation of the world. Beſides, I remember, that I alleged a paſſage to this pur-

(*e*) Proinde mundum a natura boni, hoc eſt a natura Dei factum confitentur quidem, ſed de commixtione boni et mali, quae facta eſt, quando inter ſe utraque natura pugnavit. *Aug. de Haer. cap.* 46.

Iſte autem, cujus nomen in eodem libro non comperi, deteſtatur Deum mundi fabricatorem: cum Manichaei, quamquam librum Geneſeos non accipiant, atque blaſphement, Deum tamen bonum fabricaſſe mundum, etſi ex aliena natura atque materia, confiteantur. *Contr. adv. Leg. et Proph. l. i. c. i.*

(*f*) Manichaeus enim duas dicit eſſe naturas, unam bonam, et alteram malam; bonam quae fecit mundum, malam de qua factus eſt mundus. *De Fid. c.* 49. *in.*

(*g*) Γέγονε τοίνυν μίξις καὶ κρᾶσις, τοῦτον φησὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς τε κατὰ προθέσεως δυνάμεως τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, καὶ τῆς καταπιέσεως ὕλης· καὶ ἔστως ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἐδημιουργήθη τὸ δὲ πᾶν, ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ δηλαδή· ὁ γὰρ ἂν προενόησεν ἡ κακία κόσμου γενέσεως. *Tit. l. i. p.* 68. *m.*

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purpoſe *(b)* before, when I ſhewed their agreement with other Chriſtians. And *Beauſobre (i)* might be conſulted upon this head. Sect. IV.

The Manicheans believed a conſubſtantial Trinity, or three perſons of the ſame ſubſtance. I *(k)* have already taken ſome notice of this. I obſerve here a few more particulars, as proofs of this, though I do not deſign to examine their opinion nicely. *They believed a Trinity.*

Auguſtin ſays, the *(l)* Manicheans never dared to deny, that the Father and Son are conſubſtantial.

Secundin begins his letter to *Auguſtin* in this manner: "I (*m*) give thanks to the "ineffable and moſt ſacred Majeſty, and to "Jeſus Chriſt his firſt-begotten, King of all "lights. I alſo humbly give thanks to the "Holy Spirit."

Fauſtus has a remarkable paſſage, where he

(b) See before, p. 174. *note (t).*

(i) See B. T. 2. *p.* 360. 361.

(k) See p. 174. *&c.*

(l) —— Quia et numquam dicere auſi ſunt, Patrem et Filium niſi unius eſſe ſubſtantiae. *Aug. Serm.* 12. *in PS. cap. x. n. xi.*

(*m*) Habeo et ago gratias ineffabili et ſacratiſſimae Majeſtati, ejuſque primogenito omnium luminum regi Jeſu Chriſto. Habeo gratias et ſupplex ſancto refero Spiritui. *Secund. ad Aug. Ep. in.*

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Sect. IV.

he ſays: "We (*n*) worſhip one deity of "God the Father Almighty, and Chriſt his "Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, under a three-"fold appellation. But the Father we be-"lieve to inhabit the ſupreme and moſt "ſublime light, which *Paul* calls inacceſſible. "[1 Tim. vi. 16.] The Son we think dwells "by his power in the ſun, by his wiſdom "in the moon: The Holy Spirit, the third "Majeſty, has the air for his reſidence."

Whether they worſhiped the ſun?

Here therefore I obſerve, that the Manicheans are ſaid to worſhip the ſun. So (*o*) *Socrates* expreſsly. *Libanius* too owned, that (*p*) they worſhiped the ſun in a ſecondarie ſenſe. And it is very likely, that they payed ſome reſpect both to the ſun and the moon on

(*n*) Igitur nos Patris quidem Dei omnipotentis, et Chriſti filii ejus, et Spiritus Sancti unum idemque ſub triplici appellatione colimus numen: ſed Patrem quidem ipſum lucem incolere credimus ſummam ac principalem, quam Paulus alias inacceſſibilem vocat: Filium vero in hac ſecunda ac viſibili luce conſiſtere; qui quoniam ſit et ipſe geminus, ut eum Apoſtolus novit, Chriſtum dicens eſſe Dei virtutem et Dei ſapientiam; virtutem quidem ejus in ſole habitare credimus, ſapientiam vero in luna: nec non et Spiritus Sancti, qui eſt majeſtas tertia, aeris hunc omnem ambitum ſedem fatemur ac diverſorium. *Fauſt. l.* 20. *c.* 2.

(*o*) —— καὶ τὸν ἥλιον προσκυνεῖν διδάσκει. *Socr. l.* i. *c.* 22. *p.* 56. *A.*

(*p*) *See before, p.* 37.

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on *(q)* account of the reſidence of the Son of God therein, as juſt mentioned by *Fauſtus*.

However let us likewiſe ſee what others ſay. We find *Auguſtin* himſelf charging them with *(r)* the worſhip of the ſun and the moon. But in the Diſpute with *Fortunatus*, when called upon to declare, if he had ſeen any thing criminal in their worſhip; he owned, that *(s)* he had obſerved nothing amiſs in the prayers, at which he was preſent, except that they turned themſelves toward the ſun. In another place, he informs us, that *(t)* when they prayed, they looked toward the ſun in the day time, and toward the moon in the night. In another place he ſpeaks of *(u)* their kneeling to the ſun, or toward

(q) —— quod vel tu, vel quilibet alius rogatus, ubinam Deum ſuum credat habitare, reſpondere non dubitabit, in lumine: ex quo cultus hic meus omnium pene teſtimonio confirmatur. *Fauſt. ib. l.* 20. *c.* 2. *f.*

(r) Solem etiam et lunam cum eis adorant et orant. *Aug. T.* 2. *Ep.* 236. *al.* 74.

(s) Ego autem in oratione qua interfui nihil turpe fieri vidi: ſed ſolum contra fidem animadverti —— quod contra ſolem facitis orationem. *Adv. Fortun. Diſp. i. n.* 3.

(t) Orationes faciunt ad ſolem per diem, quaquaverſum circuit; ad lunam per noctem, ſi apparet; ſi autem non apparet, ad aquiloniam partem, qua ſol cum occiderit ad orientem revertitur, ſtant orantes. *De Haer. c.* 46.

(u) Sol iſte, cui genu flectitis, &c. *De Mor. Manich. cap.* 8. *n.* 13.

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toward it. *Alexander* of *Lycopolis* says, they (*x*) honor the sun and moon above all things, not as Gods, but as the way by which we are to go to God. *Titus* of *Bostra* ascribes their respect to the sun to their supposition, that (*y*) it was composed of parts of light, entirely pure, and unsullyed with a mixture of evil. And (*z*) *Augustin* seems to speak to the like purpose, or at least, that they esteemed it a portion of light, which God inhabits. *Simplicius* says, they (*a*) thought the sun and moon to consist of parts of the good substance, and therefore honored them.

Upon the whole, I believe we need not surmise any great harm in the respect they shewed the sun; considering, that *Faustus* assures us, they believed one God only under a threefold appellation, and considering what *Augustin* says of the prayers, at which he was present. But it seems, that when they prayed

(*x*) Τιμῶσι δὲ μάλιστα ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην, οὐχ ὡς θεὺς, ἀλλ' ὡς ὁδὸν δι' ἧς ἐστιν ἡμῖν πρὸς θεὸν ἀφικέσθαι. *Alex. L. p.* 5. *D.*

(*y*) Επειδὴ δὲ ἥλιον σεμνύουσι καὶ ἁγνὴν εἶναι, ὡς ὑπάλληλον τῷ καλῷ διορίζεται. *Tit. contr. Manich. l.* 2. *p.* 128. *in.*

(*z*) Et ideo istum solem —— isti sic colunt ut particulam dicant esse lucis illius in qua habitat Deus. *De Gen. contr. Man. l. i. c.* 3. *n.* 6.

(*a*) Πόση δὲ καὶ ἡ περὶ τοῦτο ἀλλοκοτία; τὸ ἐκ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῷ ἠρανῷ μόνες τὰς δύο φωστῆρας τιμᾶν, τὴν τε ἀγαθὸν μοῖρας λέγοντας αὐτὰς. κ. λ. *In Epictet. c.* 34. *p.* 167.

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prayed to God, for ſome reaſon or other, they turned their faces toward the ſun, or the moon. Sect. IV.

VII. The Manicheans, to uſe *Auguſtin's (b)* words, "held two principles, different "and oppoſite, eternal and coeternal: and "two natures and ſubſtances, one good, the "other evil, following herein other ancient "heretics." *They held two Principles.*

In this *(c)* notion, as the ſame learned father ſays, they triumphed to a great degree, ſuppoſing it to afford the beſt account of the origin of evil.

And *Epiphanius* ſays, that *(d)* by this ſcheme *Mani* endeavored to free God from the charge of being the author of evil. To

(b) Iſte duo principia inter ſe diverſa et adverſa, eademque aeterna et coaeterna, hoc eſt, ſemper fuiſſe, compoſuit: duaſque naturas atque ſubſtantias, boni ſcilicet et mali, ſequens alios antiquos haereticos, opinatus eſt. *Aug. de Haer. c.* 46.

(c) Hic fortaſſe quis dicat, Unde ipſa peccata, et omnino unde malum? Si ab homine, unde homo? Si ab angelo, unde angelus? Quos ex Deo eſſe cum dicitur, quamvis recte vereque dicatur, videntur tamen imperitis et minus valentibus acriter res abditas intueri, quaſi per quamdam catenam ad Deum mala et peccata connecti. Hac quaeſtione regnare ſe putant. *De Duab. Anim. c.* 8. *n.* 10.

(d) Μάνης βελόμενος κακίας ὑπεξάιρειν τὸν θεὸν, κ. λ. *Epiph. H.* 66. *n.* 16. *p.* 632. *Vid. et n.* 15. *in.*

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Sect. IV.

the like purpoſe ſpeaks *(e) Jerome*, and *(f) Titus* of *Boſtra*, and *(g) Simplicius*.

Indeed this difficult queſtion, of the origin of evil, was the ruin of theſe men, and of many others. They perplexed and confounded themſelves, and they endeavored to puzzle and confound all other people. *Auguſtin (h)* intimates as much.

Theodoret's account is to this purpoſe: "*Mani (i)* taught two eternal beings, God "and matter. God he called light, matter "darkneſſe: and the light good, matter e- "vil. He called them alſo by other names. "Light is a good tree, full of good fruits: "matter an evil tree, bearing fruits agree- "able to it's root."

Photius

(e) Inde Manichaeus, ut Deum a conditione malorum liberet, alterum mali inducit auctorem. *Hier. in Naum. cap.* 3. *T.* 3. *p.* 1588. *in.*

(f) Κακίας γὰρ ἀνάιτιον ἀποδείξαι τὸν θεὸν βεληθεὶς, κ. λ. *Tit. contr. Manich. l. i. p.* 60. *in. ap. Baſnag. et Caniſ. Lect. Ant. T. i.*

(g) —— καὶ τὸ θαυμαστὸν, ὅτι πάντα ταῦτα ἀνέπλασαν, διὰ θεοσεβῆ δῆθεν εὐλάβειαν· μὴ βεβλόμενοι γὰρ αἴτιον τῆ κακῆ τὸν θεὸν εἰπεῖν, ἀρχὴν ὑπεστήσαντο ἰδίαν τῆ κακῆ, κ. λ. *Simpl. in Epict. Enchir. c.* 34. *p.* 168.

(h) Qui dum nimis quaerunt, unde ſit malum, nihil reperiunt niſi malum. *De Ut. Cred. c.* 18. *n.* 36.

(i) Οὗτος δύο ἀγεννήτους καὶ ἀϊδίους ἔφησεν εἶναι, θεὸν καὶ ὕλην· καὶ πεσσηγόρευσε τὸν μὲν θεὸν φῶς, τὴν δὲ ὕλην σκότος. κ. λ. *Thdrt. H. F. l. i. c.* 26. *p.* 212. *B. C.*

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Photius obſerving the contents of a work of *Agapius*, a Manichean writer, ſays: "He "(*k*) advanceth a bad principle, ſelf-exiſtent "and oppoſite to God: which he ſometimes "calls nature, ſometimes matter, ſometimes "Satan, and the devil, and the prince and "god of this world, and the like."

Their opinion is layd down by (*l*) *Fortunatus* at the begining of his ſecond Diſpute with *Auguſtin*.

Jerome (*m*) often takes notice of this doctrine of the Manicheans.

This doctrine *Mani* teacheth in his letter to *Marcellus*. He (*n*) wonders how any Chriſtians can think, that God made Satan and other evil things. This notion and the conſe-

(*k*) Ἀρχὴν πονηρὰν ἀυθυπόστατον ἀνταναίρεσιν ἐξ ἀιδίε τῷ θεῷ, ἣν ποτε μὲν φύσιν, ἄλλοτε ὕλην, καὶ ἄλλοτε δὲ σατανᾶν, καὶ διάβολον, καὶ ἄρχοντα τῦ κόσμυ, καὶ θεὸν τῦ αἰῶνος τέτε. κ. λ. *Phot. cod.* 179. *p.* 404. *in.*

(*l*) *Diſp.* 2. *ſub. in.*

(*m*) Ut non juxta Manichaeum, et ceteras haereſes, (quae factorem et materiam ponunt,) aliquid unde creaturae factae ſint, anteceſſerit creaturas, ſed omnia ex nihilo ſubſtiterint. *Hier. in Ep. ad Gal. cap. i. T.* 4. *P. i. p.* 435. *in. Vid. eund. ad Cteſ. Ep.* 43. *T.* 4. *P.* 2. *p.* 480. *infr. m. et Prol. Dial. adv. Pelag. ib. p.* 485. *in.*

(*n*) Καὶ πῶς τὸν θεὸν τῦ σατανᾶ, καὶ τῶν κακῶν αὐτῦ πραγμάτων λέγειν τολμῶσι ποιητὴν καὶ δημιεργὸν, θαυμάζειν μοι ἐπέρχεται. *ap. Arch. c.* 5. *p.* 7. *f.*

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conſequences of it are much diſcourſed of in the Diſpute of *(o) Archelaus.*

After all this it may be ſtill proper to put down, in the margin at left, the words of *Mani* himſelf, near the begining of his Epiſtle of the Foundation, which was ſo much admired by his followers, and is largely cited by *Auguſtin.* " There *(p)* were, ſays he, " in the begining two ſubſtances, divided " from each other. The kingdom of light " is held by God the Father, unchangeable, " all-powerful, true in his nature, eternal, " having in himſelf wiſdom and vital pow- " ers. ——— His moſt ſplendid kingdom is " founded upon light and bleſſed land, not " to be ſhaken or moved by any." But, however, as he goes on, " On *(q)* one ſide " of

(o) Ego duas naturas eſſe dico, unam bonam et alteram malam. *ib. c.* 14. *p.* 26.

(p) Haec quidem in exordio fuerunt, duae ſubſtantiae a ſeſe diviſae. Et luminis quidem imperium tenebat Deus Pater, in ſua ſancta ſtirpe perpetuus, in virtute magnificus, natura ipſa verus, aeternitate propria ſemper exſultans, continens apud ſe ſapientiam et ſenſus vitales. —— Ita autem fundata ſunt ejuſdem ſplendidiſſima regna ſuper lucidam et beatam terram, ut a nullo unquam aut moveri aut concuti poſſint, *Ap. Aug. contr. Ep. Manich. c.* 13. *n.* 16.

(q) Juxta unam vero partem ac latus illuſtris illius ac ſanctae terrae erat tenebrarum terra profunda et immenſa magnitudine,

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" of his illuſtrious and holy territories was Sect. IV.
" the land of darkneſſe, deep and wide,
" where dwelt fiery bodies, and all ſorts of
" peſtiferous things: beyond which are mud-
" dy waters, boiſterous winds, dark ſmoak,
" and at the centre the dreadful prince and
" univerſal governour, having with him innu-
" merable princes, of which he is the ſoul
" and ſource. And theſe are the five na-
" tures [or elements] of the peſtiferous coun-
" trey."

Theſe five elements, as *Auguſtin* obſerves in plainer words, are *(r)* darkneſſe, water, wind,

nitudine, in qua habitabant ignea corpora, genera ſcilicet peſtifera. Hic infinitae tenebrae, ex eadem manantes natura inaeſtimabiles cum propriis foetibus: ultra quas erant aquae coenoſae ac turbidae cum ſuis inhabitatoribus, quarum interius venti horribiles ac vehementes cum ſuo principe et genitoribus. Rurſus regio ignea et corruptibilis cum ſuis ducibus et nationibus. Pari modo introrſum gens caliginis ac fumi plena, in qua morabatur immanis princeps omnium et dux, habens circa ſe innumerabiles principes, quorum omnium ipſe erat mens et origo. Haeque fuerunt naturae quinque terrae peſtiferae. *ap. Aug. ib. c.* 14. *n.* 19.

(*r*) Animadvertimus quinque naturas quaſi partes unius naturae, quam vocat terram peſtiferam. Hae ſunt autem, tenebrae, aquae, venti, ignis, fumus; quas quinque naturas ſic ordinat, ut exteriores ceteris ſint tenebrae, a quibus numerare incipit. Intra tenebras aquas conſtituit, intra aquas ventos, intra ventos ignem, intra ignem fumum. Et habebant iſtae quinque naturae ſua quaeque genera inhabitatorum. *Contr. Ep. Manich. c.* 28. *n.* 31.

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fire, ſmoak. Darkneſſe is the outmoſt, within that water, within that wind, next fire, and the inmoſt ſmoak, all which regions have their ſeveral inhabitants. In another place *(s)* *Auguſtin* mentions again theſe five elements, but in a different order.

There were as many elements in the *(t)* kingdom of light; air, light, fire, water, wind: which, at the formation of the world, were mixed with the bad elements.

Hence it appears, that *(u)* *Mani* aſcribed to matter, the evil ſubſtance, the land of darkneſſe, not only eternal exiſtence, but likewiſe, motion, and life, animal paſſions, and, as one would think, reaſon or intelligence. If the inhabitants of thoſe regions had not reaſon originally, they ſeem to have gained it afterwards.

Upon this point I ſhall mention a thought *(x)* of *Beauſobre*, which is to this purpoſe. "*Titus*

(s) —— eaque elementa his nominibus nuncupant, fumum, tenebras, ignem, aquam, ventum. *Aug. De Haer. c.* 46.

(t) His quinque elementis malis debellandis alia quinque elementa de regno et ſubſtantia Dei miſſa eſſe, et in illa pugna fuiſſe permixta; fumo aera, tenebris lucem, igni malo ignem bonum, aquae malae aquam bonam, vento malo ventum bonum. *Id. ibid.*

(u) ἀρ ἓν ἑκάτερον τῶν παρὰ τῷ μανέντι νομιζομένων ἐναντίων, ἐσίαι ζῶσά τε ἡ, ἀγένητ☉ ὀνομάζεται. *Tit. l. i. p.* 65.

(x) *See Beauſ. Hiſt. de Manich. T.* 2. *p.* 410. 411.

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" *Titus* of *Boſtra* obſerves this abſurdity in Sect. IV.
" the Manichean ſcheme, that *(y)* they aſ-
" cribe an unreaſonable life only to demons.
" And yet thoſe demons are repreſented ſhew-
" ing great art and ſkill. But, ſays *Beau-*
" *ſobre*, *Titus* did not conſider, that the Ma-
" nicheans do not aſcribe ſuch ability to the
" demons, till after they had feiſed on the
" parts of light, which were devoured by
" them, and became incorporated with them."
Whether this be right, I cannot ſay. I ſhall mention an obſervation concerning this matter by and by.

" As for the devil, to take the words of
" *(z) Beauſobre*, *Mani* did not believe him
" to be properly eternal: foraſmuch as he
" gave him a father, which ſuppoſition he
" built upon the words of our Saviour in
" *John* viii. 46. According to him the fa-
" ther of the devil was matter agitated in a
" violent, irregular, and tumultuous man-
" ner."

That learned writer does not refer to the proper vouchers for proof of this account. I ſhall therefore add a few references in the

(y) ὅθεν περεύγεται προσομολογεῖν αὐτῇ λογισμόν τε καὶ γνῶσιν. *Tit. l. i. p.* 70. *ſub in.*

(z) B. T. i. p. 179. *and ſee him again T. 2. p.* 263.

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Sect. IV.

margin, taken from the Diſpute of *Archelaus:* where *(a) Mani* is repreſented quoting that text of St. *John*'s Goſpel, in this manner, " that the father of the devil is a lyar " and a murderer:" where likewiſe he ſpeaks *(b)* of the devil, as having no former or creator, but his own malice, whence he ſprang.

This notion of the origin of Satan may ſeem ſtrange. And yet perhaps it is not much ſtranger, than the opinion of thoſe, who thought, that *(c)* plants grew up where no ſeeds

(a) Et alio in loco, patrem diaboli mendacem et homicidam eſſe confirmat. [Salvator Chriſtus] *Manes ap Arch. c.* 13. *p.* 24. —— Cum loquitur mendacium de ſuis propriis loquitur, quoniam mendax eſt, ſicut et pater ejus. *ib. n.* 29. *p.* 48. *Conf. Beauſ. T.* 2. *p.* 263.

(b) Si vero conſideretis, quomodo generenter filii hominum, invenietis non eſſe Dominum hominis creatorem, ſed alium, qui et ipſe ingenitae eſt naturae, cujus conditor nullus, nec creator, nec factor eſt, ſed ſola malitia ſua talem eum protulit. *ap. Arch. n.* 14. *p.* 27.

(c) —— quia niſi talis aliqua vis eſſet in iſtis elementis, non plerumque naſcerentur ex terra quae ibi ſeminata non eſſent: nec animalia tam multa, nulla marium feminarumque commixtione praecedente, ſive in terra, ſive in aqua, quae tamen creſcunt, et coeundo alia pariunt, cum illa nullis coeuntibus parentibus orta ſint. *Aug. De Trin. l.* 3. *cap.* 8. *n.* 13. Quod ſi animalia quaedam vento et aura concipere ſolere, omnibus notum eſt, —— *Lact. Inſt. l.* 4. *c.* 12. *ſub in.* Nec tamen commoveat aliquem, quod animalia quaedam de terra

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ſeeds had been ſown: and that animals, in water and on the land, having ſexes, ſprung up out of the genial virtue of the elements alone, deſcended from no parents. There is this difference only, that theſe perſons, it is likely, aſcribed that genial virtue of the elements to an intelligent and powerful cauſe, even God. ‡ Sect. IV.

Here therefore I inſert the obſervation, deferred before, which is this. Since *Beauſobre* allows, that according to the Manicheans the devil, who was not properly eternal, was formed by the violent and irregular motion of eternal matter: and ſince *Auguſtin* expreſsly ſays, that *(d)* the elements in the kingdom

terra naſci videntur. Haec enim non terra per ſe gignit, ſed ſpiritus Dei, ſine quo nihil gignitur. *l.* 2. *c.* 8. *p.* 183. *Vid. Id. ib. l. i. c.* 8. *p.* 43.

‡ *Beauſobre* has exactly the like thought, though I was not aware of it, when I wrote what is above. However I here tranſcribe his words. Il ne faut pourtant pas s'imaginer, qu' il crût le Demon éternel. Sans doute il le faiſoit naitre du mouvement deréglé de la Matiere, comme d'anciens philoſophes croyoient, que les animaux étoient nez de la corruption de la terre. C' étoit le ſentiment des Manichéens, qu'on attribuë auſſi aux Priſcillianiſtes. Nec natura ejus [Diaboli] opificium Dei ſit, ſed eum ex chao et tenebris emerſiſſe. Leo Ep. xv. N°. 5. p. 452. *Beauſ. T. i. p.* 388.

(d) Quinque enim elementa, quae genuerunt principes proprios, genti tribuunt tenebrarum. *De Haer. cap.* 46. *ſub in.*

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kingdom of darkneſs begot their ſeveral princes: in like manner, perhaps, the land of darkneſſe, once irrational, gained reaſon, or cunning and ſkill, by ſome violent and tumultuous agitations. Or, poſſibly, they never aſcribed reaſon to demons, though they allowed them to have a great deal of cunning.

I beg leave to obſerve farther, that *(e) Auguſtin* often ſpeaks of mind in matter, according to the Manichean ſcheme: as does *(f) Mani* himſelf in his Epiſtle of the Foundation. And *Auguſtin* thinks, he has a great advantage in his argument with them, when he obſerves *(g)* how many good things they placed

(e) Hinc enim et mali ſubſtantiam quamdam credebam eſſe talem, et habere ſuam molem terram, et deformem, ſive craſſam, quam terram, et deformem, ſive tenuem et ſubtilem, ſicut eſt aeris corpus, quam malignam mentem per illam terram repentem imaginantur. *Confeſſ. l.* 5. *c. x. n.* 20. Haec dixi, ut, ſi fieri poteſt, tandem dicere deſinatis, malum eſſe terram per immenſum profundam et longam; malum eſſe mentem per terram vagantem; malum eſſe quinque antra elementorum —— malum eſſe animalia in illis nata elementis, *De M. Manich. c.* 9. *n.* 14.

(f) —— in qua morabatur immanis princeps omnium et dux, habens circa ſe innumerabiles principes, quorum omnium ipſe erat mens atque origo. *ap. Aug. contr. Epiſt. Manich. c.* 15. *n.* 19.

(g) —— ita errantes, ita delirantes, —— ut non videant, et in eo quod dicunt naturam ſummi mali, ponere ſe tanta bona,

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placed in the evil nature; ſuch as life, power, memorie, intellect, proportion and order.

Their doctrine of two principles the Manicheans endeavored to ſupport by texts of the New Teſtament. They often argued from *(b)* thoſe words of our Saviour, Matt. vii. 18. *A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit. Neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit*: and (*) from the ſeventh chapter of the Epiſtle to the Romans, where the Apoſtle ſpeaks of two laws, or two powers; one the underſtanding or reaſon, the other the fleſh or the members of the fleſhly body, which are in perpetual oppoſition: and from *(i)* 1 John v. 19. *The whole world lyes in wickedneſſe*, or the evil one: and from other texts, which need not to be particularly mentioned.

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bona, ubi ponunt vitam, potentiam, —— memoriam, intellectum, temperiem, —— menſuras, numeros, —— ordinem. *De Nat. Boni. cap.* 41.

(b) Cui enim oportet credi? magiſtris veſtris iſtis, —— aut Salvatori Chriſto dicenti, ſicut ſcriptum eſt in Evangeliorum libro, Non poteſt arbor bona malos fructus facere —— ? *ap. Arch. n.* 13. *p.* 24. *Vid. et n.* 5. *p.* 7.

(*) *See Beauſobre T.* 2. *p.* 253.

(i) Ego duas naturas eſſe dico, unam bonam, alteram malam, —— ſicut ait Joannes: Totus mundus in maligno poſitus eſt, non in Deo. *ap. Arch. n.* 14. *p.* 26.

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Of the Creation of the World.

VIII. According to the Manicheans the formation of this world was occaſional, owing to an attempt of the kingdom of darkneſſe upon the kingdom of light. *Auguſtin* expreſſeth himſelf briefly in his ſummarie account of Manicheiſm: "They *(k)* own indeed, that the world was made by the "good nature, that is, the nature of God, "but out of a mixture of good and evil, "which happened when the two natures "fought together."

There is ſomewhat about this fight in *(l)* the fragments of *Mani*'s Letter of the Foundation. But there muſt have been more ſayd of it in that part of the Letter, which *Auguſtin* did not anſwer, and therefore did not quote. For want of which I ſhall be obliged to take the account of this matter from other authors.

Theodoret

(k) Proinde mundum a natura boni, hoc eſt, a natura Dei factum, confitentur quidem, ſed de commixtione boni et mali, quae facta eſt, quando inter ſe utraque natura pugnavit. *De Haer. c.* 46.

(l) Unde ſi tibi videtur, inquit, auſculta prius quae fuerint ante conſtitutionem mundi, et quo pacto proelium ſit agitatum, ut poſſis luminis ſejungere naturam ac tenebrarum. *ap. Aug. contra Ep. Manich. c.* 12. *n.* 15. *Vid. et libr. de Fid. contr. Manich. cap. xi.*

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Theodoret says, "There (*m*) being a prodigious tumult and inteſtin war in the "kingdom of Hyle, as they contended and "fought with each other, they exceeded the "bounds of their own territories, and came "to the confines of light: at the ſight of "which they were greatly ſurpriſed and de-"lighted, and did all they could to lay hold "of, and mix the light with themſelves."

Titus of *Boſtra* ſays, "that (*n*) matter "having made the inroad before mentioned, "the good being ſent out a power or ſpirit, "to which the Manicheans give what name "they pleaſe, to reduce matter to better or-"der: which was in ſome meaſure effected, "for matter was greatly delighted at the "ſight of that power, and devoured it, and "thereby was rendered more tame."

In the Acts of *Archelaus* this affair is related after this manner. "Darkneſſe (*o*) ex-"ceeding

(*m*) —— ἀιῶσι δὲ πολλοῖς ὕσερον διασασιάσαι πρὸς ἑαυτὴν τὴν ὕλην, καὶ τὲς τάυτης καρπὲς πρὸς ἀλλήλες· τὲ δὲ πολέμε συσάντ@-, καὶ τῶν μὲν διωκόντων, τῶν δὲ διωκομένων, μέχρι τῶν ὅρων τὲ φωτὸς αὐτὲς ἀφικέσθαι· ἔιτα τὸ φῶς θεασαμένες, ἡσθῆναι τε ἐπ' αὐτῷ, καὶ θαυμάσαι καὶ βεληθῆναι πασυδὶ κατ' αὐτὲ σρατεῦσαι, καὶ ἁρπάσαι, καὶ κεράσαι τῷ φωτὶ τὸ ἴδιον σκότ@-. *Thdrt. T.* 4. *p.* 212. *C.*

(*n*) *Tit. contr. Manich. l.* 2. *p.* 68.

(*o*) —— Γνόντα δὲ τὸν ἀγαθὸν πατέρα τὸ σκότ@- ἐν τῇ γῇ

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" ceeding it's limits fought with light. When
" the good Father, [that is, God,] perceiv-
" ed, that darkneſſe was come into his coun-
" trey, he detached from him a power called
" the Mother of life. This power formed
" the firſt man, and inveſted him with the
" five elements, wind, light, water, fire,
" air. Thus equipped he went down to fight
" with darkneſſe. But *(p)* the princes of
" darkneſſe fighting againſt him devoured
" a part of his armour, which is the ſoul."
" The firſt man, as it follows in thoſe Acts,
" being overpowered, looked up to God,
" who taking pity on him ſent to his *(q)*
" relief another power called the Living Spi-
" rit; who deſcending reached out his hand
" to him, and reſcued him. But he left
" the ſoul below. ——Then the Living Spi-
" rit created the world. ——He created the
" lights

γῆ αὐτῦ ἐπιδεδημηκὸς, προβάλλειν ἐξ αὐτῦ δύναμιν, λεγομένην μητέρα τῆς ζωῆς, ϗ αὐτὴν προβεβληκέναι τὸν πρῶτον ἄνθρωπον, κ. λ. *ap. Arch. n. 7. p.* 10.

(p) οἱ δὲ τῦ σκότους ἄρχοντες ἀντιπολεμῆντες αὐτῷ ἔφαγον ἐκ τῆς πανοπλίας αὐτῦ, ὅ ἐστιν ἡ ψυχή. *ib.*

(q) —— ϗ ἐπέστειλεν ἕτεραν δύναμιν προβληθεῖσαν ὑπ' αὐτῦ, λεγομένην ζῶν πνεῦμα —— ἔκτοτε ἂν κατέλειφε κάτω τὴν ψυχήν. —— Τότε ζῶν πνεῦμα ἔκτισε τὸν κόσμον. —— Τότε πάλιν τὸ ζῶν πνεῦμα ἔκτισε τὰς φωσῆρας, ἅ ἐστι τῆς ψυχῆς λείψανα, ϗ ὕτως ἐπόιησε τὸ στερέωμα κυκλεῦσαι ϗ πάλιν ἔκτισε τὴν γῆν. *ib. p.* 10. 11.

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" lights out of the ſouls that remained, and " appointed the firmament to revolve. At " length he created the earth." Sect. IV.

Who is meant by the Living Spirit, is not certain; whether the Word, or the Holy Spirit, or ſome other Intelligent Being: But it ſeems to be rather more probable, that *(r)* hereby is meant ſome ſpirit inferior to the divine perſons, and that *Mani* was of the ſame opinion with divers others in former times, who, judging the creation of this viſible world unworthie of God, aſcribed that work to ſome inferior intelligence.

And, as *Beauſobre* ſays, " If *(t)* we re- " duce to ſimple ideas all which is ſayd " concerning the firſt man, his deſcent, his " armour, his combats, a part of his ar- " mour taken from him, and devoured by " the princes of darkneſſe, the meaning may " amount to this: that the ſoul is a celeſtial " ſubſtance, which God has thought fit to " mix with matter, for making the world; " and that this was occaſioned by an enter- " priſe of matter, which God foreſaw, but " did not think fit to hinder." Or, as he expreſſeth

(r) See Beauſ. T. 2. p. 359.
(t) ib. T. 2. p. 390.

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expreſſeth it in another place: "They (*u*) "ſuppoſed, that the firſt man deſcended "from heaven to combat the powers of "darkneſſe: and that he was armed with "five celeſtial elements, air, wind, water, "fire and light. Matter devoured a part of "his armour, which is the ſoul. In gene- "ral, God permitted, that the celeſtial ſub- "ſtance ſhould be mingled with the terreſ- "tial or bad ſubſtance, which occaſioned the "creation of the world."

The ſame learned aud judicious author has ſome other obſervations (*x*) relating to this matter, taken from the obſcure and figurative ſtile of the Eaſtern people, and the language in which *Mani*'s works were writ, which might not be well underſtood by the Greeks and Romans.

And I ſhall add here a paſſage of *Fortunatus*, who diſputing with *Auguſtin* ſays: "Hence (*y*) evidently appears our ancient "original, that before the formation of the "world

(*u*) *ib. p.* 555.

(*x*) *as before, p.* 390. 391. 392.

(*y*) Hinc ergo apparet antiquitas temporum noſtrorum, quam repetimus, et annorum noſtrorum, ante mundi conſtitutionem hoc more miſſas eſſe animas contra contrariam naturam, ut eamdem ſua paſſione ſubjicientes, victoria Deo redderetur. Nam dixit idem apoſtolus, &c. *Fortun. Diſp.* 2. *n*: 22. *fin. ap. Aug. T.* 8.

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" world ſouls were ſent againſt the contra-
" rie nature to ſubdue it by their virtue and
" patience, that the victorie and glorie might
" be given to God. For, as the Apoſtle
" ſays: [Eph. vi. 12.] *We wreſtle not only*
" *againſt fleſh and bloud, but alſo againſt princi-*
" *palities and powers, againſt ſpiritual wick-*
" *edneſſes, and the rulers of darkneſſe.*"

To proceed: The (*z*) firſt work of the creator was to ſeparate the parts of the celeſtial ſubſtance, which, though mingled with matter, had preſerved their purity, and to make of them the ſun and the moon: which is agreeable to the words of *Auguſtin:* The (*a*) Manicheans ſay, " that thoſe veſſels, the ſun
" and moon, were made of the pure ſub-
" ſtance of God; or of that ſubſtance of
" God, which had preſerved it's purity."
He preſently afterwards explains what is meant by the ſubſtance of God, ſaying, " that the moon was made of the good wa-
" ter, the ſun of the good fire;" that is, according to the Manichean ſentiment.

(*z*) *See B. T. 2. p.* 361. 362.

(*a*) Quas itidem naves de ſubſtantia Dei pura perhibent fabricatas. —— Naves autem illas, id eſt, duo coeli luminaria, ita diſtinguunt, ut lunam dicant factam ex bona aqua, ſolem vero ex igne bono. *Aug. De H. c.* 46.

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But it ſhould be obſerved, that whereas *Auguſtin* here, and elſewhere often uſeth the phraſe, *the ſubſtance of God*; it ſeems likely, that *(b)* thereby the Manicheans (if they alſo uſed the ſame phraſe,) did not mean the divine ſubſtance or nature, which they always reckoned incorruptible, inviolable, immutable, but only the ſubſtance from God, the celeſtial ſubſtance, the (*c*) ſubſtance of his kingdom or empire. I ſuppoſe, that every one will perceive as much from what will be hereafter ſayd of their denying the humanity of Chriſt, and the incarnation of the Word, and all union of the divine nature with the human. And it might be collected from what has been already produced concerning their ſentiments of the divine perfections.

In a word, not to be too minute, the *(d)* creator formed the ſun and moon out of thoſe parts of light, which had preſerved their original purity. The viſible or inferior heavens,

(b) Beauſobre has ſpoken largely to this point. See him T. i. p. 227 —— 234. *p.* 592. 593. 529. *&c. and T. 2. p.* 339. *&c.*

(c) His quinque elementis debellandis alia quinque elementa de regno et ſubſtantia Dei miſſa eſſe, et in illa pugna fuiſſe permixta. *Aug. de Haer. cap.* 46.

(d) See B. ib. p. 364.

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vens, (for now we do not ſpeak of the ſupreme heaven;) and the reſt of the planets, were formed of thoſe parts of light, which were but little corrupted by matter. The reſt he left in our world, which are no other than thoſe parts of light, which had ſuffered moſt by the contagion of matter. Sect. IV.

The (*e*) creator formed not the earth, until after he had made the heavens and the ſtars. This appears from the account before taken out of the Acts of *Archelaus*.

And that we may the better conceive of all this, we may obſerve and rectify a wrong account of *Auguſtin*. "*Mani*, ſays (*f*) he, "teaches, not only that man, but that the "whole world was formed by the mixture "of two coëternal natures, one good the "other bad, in ſuch a manner however as "to aſcribe the formation of the world to "the good God." This, ſays (*g*) *Beauſobre*, is not juſt. Do not the ſun and moon,

(*e*) *ib. p.* 367.

(*f*) Manichaeus ex commixtione duarum naturarum coaeternarum, boni ſcilicet et mali, non ſolum hominem ſed univerſum mundum conſtare dicit, et ad eum omnia pertinentia: ita ſane, ut ipſam fabricam mundi, quamvis ex commixtione boni et mali, Deo bono et artifici tribuat. *Op. Imp. l.* 3. *c.* 186.

(*g*) *as before, p.* 367. 368.

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which were made out of the pure celeſtial ſubſtance, belong to the world? It is our earth, properly, with it's atmoſphere, and it's heavens, which were compoſed of two ſubſtances: which is the occaſion, that life and death, good and evil, reign here. The Manicheans, certainly, as that learned writer goes on, were not orthodox upon the article of the creation of the world: but ſetting aſide their particular errour, they had noble ideas of the manner in which God made the world. The diſorders that are in the world, ſays *(b) Fortunatus*, ſufficiently ſhew, that it was made out of two ſubſtances: at the ſame time things have not come into that form and proportion, which conſtitutes the world, but by the authority and command of one only. So my author.

Of the Formation of Man.

IX. The Manichean notion of the creation of man may be ſeen in *(i) Beauſobre*, taken from *Mani* himſelf, *Archelaus*, *Auguſtin*, *Titus* of *Boſtra*, *Theodoret* and others. A ſuc-

(b) Facta conſonant, ſed quia inconvenientia ſibi ſunt, ac per hoc ergo conſtat non eſſe unam ſubſtantiam, licet ex unius juſſione eadem ad compoſitionem mundi hujus et faciem venerint. *Fortunat. Diſp. i. n.* 13.

(i) Hiſt. de Manich. T. 2. *p.* 399.——418.

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A ſuccinct account of what he ſays at large is to this purpoſe: The *(k)* demons foreſeeing, that God would inſenſibly withdraw the light, or the reaſonable ſoul, which he had ſent into matter, and leave them to themſelves, or puniſh them for their late attempt, thought of a method to detain it. They had ſeen the firſt man, who came to fight them: aud they ſtill diſcerned his form in the ſun, or the heavens. Upon this model they formed the human body, thereby to attract ſouls: who, not perceiving the ſnare which the devil had layed for them, entred the body, and were touched with the pleaſure afforded by the organs of the ſenſes, and eſpecially that of concupiſcence. Pleaſure ſeduces and tranſports them, and they become delighted with their new habitation. Hereby they are led to propagate, and thus they forge their own chains, and build their own priſons.

Some paſſages of *Mani*'s Epiſtle of the Foundation, concerning the formation of man may be ſeen in *(l) Auguſtin.*

(k) ib. p. 410.

(l) —— dicens, noſſe te cupere cujuſmodi ſit nativitas Adae et Evae, utrum verbo ſint iidem prolati, an primogeniti ex corpore. *Man. ap. Aug. contr. Ep. Manich. c.* 12. *n.* 14. *Vid. et Aug. de Natura Boni, cap.* 46.

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I think it is past dispute, that *Mani* did ascribe the formation of the human body to Matter, or the Devil, or the Evil Principle. I refer for this purpose to some passages in the Acts *(m)* of *Archelaus*, and *(n)* *Epiphanius*. And shall transcribe in the margin some passages of *Mani (o)* in his letter to *Menoch*, where he speaks of Satan being the author of bodies, as God is of souls. *Augustin*'s article upon this point in *(p)* his summarie account of Manicheism, as likewise what he says *(q)* elsewhere, deserves our attention.

Alexander

(*m*) *Vid. Arch. n.* 10. *p.* 19. 20. *n.* 14. *p.* 27.

(*n*) *H.* 66. *n.* 30.

(*o*) Sicut ergo auctor animarum Deus est, ita corporum auctor per concupiscentiam diabolus est, &c. *ap. Aug. op. Imp. l.* 3. *c.* 174. *vid. et c.* 175. 176.

(*p*) Adam et Evam ex parentibus principibus fumi asserunt natos, eum pater eorum nomine Saclas socierum suorum fetus omnium devorasset, et quicquid inde commixtum divinae substantiae ceperat, cum uxore concumbens in carne prolis tamquam tenacissimo vinculo colligasset. *De H. c.* 46.

(*q*) —— ita sane, ut ipsam fabricam mundi, quamvis ex commixtione boni et mali, Deo bono et artifici tribuat; animalia vero, et cuncta quae nascuntur e terra, et ipsum hominem, opera esse dicat malignae mentis, quam genti adhibuit tenebrarum. Hinc est, quod *animam primam* dicit *a Deo lucis manasse, et accepisse illum fabricam corporis, ut eam fraeno suo regeret.* Non enim hoc de homine, sed de anima bona dicit, quam Dei partem atque naturam universo mundo,

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Alexander of *Lycopolis* ſpeaks to this purpoſe: "Matter *(r)* [or *Hyle*] perceiving in "the ſun a human form, became ambitious "to make a man out of his own ſubſtance. "For this purpoſe he placed in him the "utmoſt of his own powers, together with "as much ſoul as he could obtain. By "which means man became ſuperior to all "animals, who are mortal like him, and "partook largely of the divine power. For "he is an image of the divine power."

What I have here tranſcribed from *Alexander* may be compared with *(s)* the Acts of *Archelaus*, and *(t) Epiphanius*.

And *Mani* in a paſſage of his Letter of the

mundo, et omnibus quae in eo ſunt, opinatur eſſe permixtam, in homine autem per concupiſcentiam decipi. Quam concupiſcentiam, quod ſaepe inculcandum eſt, non vitium ſubſtantiae bonae, ſed malam vult eſſe ſubſtantiam. *Aug. Op. Imp. l.* 3. *cap.* 186.

(r) Καὶ εἰκόνα δὲ ἐν ἡλίῳ ἐωρᾶσθαι τοιαύτην, ὅιον ἐςι τὸ τῦ ἀνθρώπε εἶδος, καὶ ἀντιφιλοτιμήσασθαι τὴν Ὕλην ποιῆσαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐξ ἀυτῆς, κατὰ τὴν διὰ πάσης ἀυτῆς τῆς δυνάμεως μίξιν, ἔχοντα καὶ ἀυτόν τι τῆς ψυχῆς, πολὺ μέντοι σμικρότερον τὸ εἶδος, εἰς τὸ πλεῖον τὶ παρὰ τὰ ἄλλα θνητὰ ζῶα τῆς δυνάμεως τῆς θείας τὸν ἄνθρωπον μεταχεῖν· ὑπάρχειν γὰρ ἀυτὸν θείας δυνάμεως εἰκόνα. *Alex. p.* 5. *B. C.*

(s) ap. Arch. n. 7. *p.* 12.

(t) H. 66. *n.* 26. *et* 30.

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Foundation, preſerved *(u)* in *Auguſtin*, ſpeaks of man as being a whole little world, uniting in himſelf the image of all powers, both celeſtial and terreſtrial. Moreover, the Manicheans, as *Auguſtin* ſays, believed, that (*x*) in *Adam* was a large portion of light, that is, of the heavenly ſubſtance.

Some paſſages of *Fauſtus* likewiſe may confirm the ſuppoſition of the Manicheans not aſcribing the formation of the human body to God. "It is true, ſays *(y)* he, God "is not the author of that birth, which "brings us into the world, men and wo- "men, males and females." Again, ſays *(z) Fauſtus*, "there are two times of our "nativity, one, when nature brings us into "this

(*u*) In eadem enim conſtruebantur et contexebantur omnium imagines, coeleſtium ac terrenarum virtutum; ut pleni videlicet orbis, id quod formabatur, ſimilitudinem obtineret. *Man. ap. Aug. de Nat. Bon. c.* 46.

(*x*) Mala non vacuum fuiſſe dicit Adam, ſed ejus minus habuiſſe, multoque plus lucis. *Aug. Op. Imp. l.* 3. *c.* 186.

(y) Magis ac magis oſtendit, nativitatem hanc, quae nos mares fecit ac feminas, —— non eam eſſe in qua Deus operatur, cum hominem format. *Fauſt. l.* 24. *ſub fin.*

(*z*) Quoniam quidem et nativitatis noſtrae tempora duo ſunt, unum illud, quo nos irretitos carnalibus vinculis in lucem hanc natura produxit, alterum vero, cum veritas nos ex errore converſos ad ſe regeneravit initiatos ad fidem. Quod tempus ſecundae nativitatis in Evangelio Jeſus ſignificans dixit, &c. *Fauſt. l.* 24. *ſub. in.*

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" this world, under the chains of carnal af- Sect. IV.
" fections: the other, when we are born
" again, and are converted from errour to
" truth, of which Chriſt ſpeaks in the Goſ-
" pel, in his conference with *Nicodemus*,
" ſaying, *Unleſs a man be born again, he*
" *cannot ſee the kingdom of God.*" Which doctrine *Fauſtus* endeavors to ſupport by long quotations from ſeveral of St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles.

As *Beauſobre* ſays, they (*a*) pretended it was impoſſible, that a holy and good God ſhould joyn a pure and celeſtial ſoul with a terreſtrial, ſenſitive, animal ſoul; whoſe affections reſiſt reaſon, and carry the man to actions he diſapproves. And they argued, that the ordinarie way, in which men come into the world, ſhewed it was not God, who formed them at firſt. This argument of theirs is largely repreſented in the (*b*) Acts of *Archelaus*.

X. More-

(*a*) *T.* 2. *p.* 416.

(*b*) Si vero conſideretis, quomodo generentur filii hominum, invenietis, non eſſe Dominum hominis creatorem, ſed alium, —— Eſt igitur vobis hominibus commixtio cum uxoribus veſtris de hujuſmodi occaſione deſcendens. Cum quis veſtrum carnalibus aliiſque cibis fuerit ſatiatus, tunc ei concupiſcentiae oboritur incitatio, &c. *ap. Arch. c.* 14. *p.* 27.

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That man has two Souls.

X. Moreover the Manicheans ſuppoſed, that there were in man two ſouls. *Auguſtin* wrote (*c*) a book on purpoſe againſt this opinion. But it was a neceſſarie conſequence of their ſentiment about two principles. There are, according (*d*) to them, two eternal natures, both living and animated. And both enter into the compoſition of man. I place in the margin (*e*) a paſſage of *Auguſtin* of ſome conſiderable length, taken from his ſummarie account of Manicheiſm in his book Of Hereſies.

This was in ancient times a common opinion of many people. And was held by the Manicheans. They (*f*) ſuppoſed, that it was evidently taught by St. *Paul* in all thoſe places, where he oppoſes the fleſh and the ſpirit, the old man and the new man, the law

(*c*) *De duabus Animabus contra Manichaeos. Opp. T.* 8.

(*d*) *See Beauſ. T.* 2. *p.* 420.

(*e*) Carnalem coucupiſcentiam, qua caro concupiſcit adverſus ſpiritum, non ex vitiata in primo homine natura nobis ineſſe infirmitatem; ſed ſubſtantiam volunt eſſe contrariam, ſic nobis adhaerentem, ut quando liberamur atque purgamur, ſeparetur a nobis, et in ſua natura etiam ipſa immortaliter vivat: eaſque duas animas, vel duas mentes, unam bonam, alteram malam, in uno homine inter ſe habere conflictum, quando caro concupiſcit adverſus ſpiritum, et ſpiritus adverſus carnem. *De Haer. c.* 46. *ſub fin.*

(*f*) *See Beauſ. T.* 2. *p.* 421.

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law of the mind and the law of the members. Sect. IV. These two men, these two laws, these two principles, are in man. And they are always contrarie to each other. The spirit oppoſeth the deſires of the fleſh, and the fleſh thoſe of the ſpirit. But contrarie deſires and wills cannot proceed from one and the ſame cauſe purely ſpiritual. There are therefore two ſouls in man, two active principles; one the ſource and cauſe of vicious paſſions, deriving it's origin from matter, the other the cauſe of the ideas of juſt and right, and of inclinations to follow thoſe ideas, deriving it's original from God.

XI. Though the Manicheans did not receive the Old Teſtament, nor admit the Moſaic account of the creation; they ſuppoſed the world to have had a begining, as we have ſeen already, and *Adam* and *Eve* to have been the firſt pair, and the parents of mankind. This appears from the very begining *(g)* of the famous Epiſtle of the Foundation, *Of the Fall of Man.*

The

(g) De eo igitur, —— de quo mihi ſignificaſti, dicens, noſſe te cupere, cujuſmodi ſit nativitas Adae et Evae, &c. *ap. Aug. Contr. Ep. Manich. c.* 12. *n.* 14.

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The Manicheans, as *Auguſtin* ſays, believed, that in *(b) Adam* was a large portion of light; that is, of the celeſtial ſubſtance. Again, we learn from him, "that *(i)* they "ſayd, *Adam* and *Eve* were made by the "princes of darkneſſe: but *Adam* had in "him a great abundance of the particles of "light, with but few particles of darkneſſe. "For that reaſon he lived holily a good "while. At length the adverſe part in him "prevailed, and he knew *Eve*." So then, conjugal commerce was the firſt ſin of theſe parents of mankind.

And, in the Acts of *Archelaus*, it is ſayd, that *(k)* the princes, having made *Adam* after the form of the firſt man whom they had ſeen,

(b) Malâ [ſubſtantia] non vacuum fuiſſe dicit Adam, ſed ejus minus habuiſſe, multoque plus lucis. *Aug. Op. Imp. l.* 3. *c.* 186.

(i) Talis eſt namque apud vos opinio de Adamo et Eva. Longa fabula eſt, ſed ex ea adtingam quod in praeſentia ſatis eſt. Adam dicitis ſic a parentibus ſuis genitum, abortivis illis principibus tenebrarum, ut maximam partem lucis haberet in anima, et perexiguam gentis adverſae. Qui cum ſancte viveret propter exſuperantem copiam boni, commotam tamen in eo fuiſſe adverſam illam partem, ut ad concubitum declinaretur; ita eum lapſum eſſe et peccaſſe, ſed vixiſſe poſtea ſanctiorem. *De Mor. Manich. c.* 19. *n.* 73.

(k) Τὴν δὲ ἕυαν ὁμοίως ἔκτισαν, δόντες αὐτῇ ἐκ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας αὐτῶν, πρὸς τὸ ἐξαπατῆσαι τὸν ἀδάμ. *ap. Arch. n.* 10. *p.* 20.

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ſeen, made *Eve* likewiſe, giving her ſome of their own concupiſcence, that ſhe might deceive *Adam*. Sect. IV.

XII. Hence we may be led to conclude, that the Manicheans muſt condemn marriage. And indeed thoſe words of St. *Paul* 1 Tim. iv. 3. are often applyed to them. *Mani* himſelf ſays, that *(l) concupiſcence is the root of all evil*, quoting in that ſenſe 1 Tim. vi. 10. It may be thought, that (*m*) their condemning all manner of concupiſcence, however regulated, appears in ſome words of *Fauſtus*, which I put in the margin: where he ſpeaks of the firſt, or natural birth, and of the ſecond, or ſpiritual birth. *Of Marriage.*

This notion is handſomly confuted by (*n*) *Titus* of *Boſtra* in a paſſage, which may be ſeen tranſlated by (*o*) *Beauſobre*. But I preſume, I need not tranſcribe it here.

Fauſtus

(l) Tolle denique malignae hujus ſtirpis radicem, et ſtatim te ipſam ſpiritalem contemplaris. Radix enim, ait ſcriptura, omnium malorum concupiſcentia. *Ap. Aug. Op. Imp. l.* 3. *c.* 175. *Vid. et c.* 176. 186. 187.

(m) Modus quoque naſcendi duplex eſt, unus ille furoris et intemperantiae proprius, quo ſumus a generatoribus turpiter et per libidinem ſati: alius vero honeſtatis et ſanctimoniae, quo in Chriſto Jeſu per Spiritum Sanctum ſub bonorum doctrinis diſciplinati ſumus ad fidem, &c. *Fauſt. l.* 24. *cap.* 1.

(n) Tit. contr. Manich. l. 2. *p.* 130. 131.

(o) T. 2. *p.* 468. 469.

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Fauſtus has particularly conſidered the charge brought againſt them, of teaching what the Apoſtle calls *doctrines of devils.* 1 Tim. iv. 1. And if *Fauſtus* may be relyed upon, their doctrine upon *(p)* the article of marriage and virginity was much the ſame with that of the Catholics, or orthodox Chriſtians of that time. The churches of the Catholics, he ſays, had in them almoſt as many profeſſed virgins, as marryed women. If the *(q)* Catholics made virgins, without being lyable to the charge of forbidding to marry, the ſame was true of them. They did not compel, they only exhorted. And he boldly ſays, that text of *Paul* is no more againſt them, than againſt the Catholics. This

(p) —— nec videtis hinc, et virgines veſtras daemoniorum doctrina captas notari, et vos eſſe antiſtites daemoniorum, qui certatim ſemper ad hanc eas incitetis profeſſionem ſuaſionibus veſtris, ut pene jam major in eccleſiis omnibus virginum apud vos quam mulierum numeroſitas habeatur? *Fauſt. l.* 30. *cap.* 4.

(q) Non ergo eſt interim, quod vos exiſtimetis ſolis hortamentis virgines facere, et non prohibitione nubendi. Nobis enim quoque hoc inſitum eſt. —— Quapropter et nos hortamur quidem volentes ut permaneant, non tamen cogimus invitas ut accedant. —— Si igitur hoc modo virgines facere ſine crimine eſt, extra culpam ſumus et nos: ſin quoquo genere virgines facere crimen eſt, rei eſtis et vos. Jam qua mente aut conſilio hoc adverſum nos capitulum proferatis, ego non video. *ibid.*

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This defenſe of *Fauſtus* is the fuller, if by their Elect, who alone were forbid to marry, and were required to forbear eating fleſh, and drinking wine, be underſtood prieſts or eccleſiaſtics, as *(r) Fauſtus* intimates. Sect. IV.

More may be ſeen concerning this point in (*) the author, to whom I have already often referred.

Upon the whole, conſidering what has been obſerved above concerning the origin of mankind; it may be reckoned more probable, that they rather tolerated marriage, as an imperfect ſtate, in regard to human weakneſſe, than approved it. Perhaps we may apply to this caſe what *(s) Auguſtin* ſays of the Manichean Auditors eating fleſh. They were indulged it, but yet, it was a fault, he

(r) Neque enim juſta haec nunc veſtra ſententia eſt, ut nos quidem, qui ſolum in plebe ſacerdotale hominum genus cenſeamus a carnibus abſtinere debere, daemoniorum doctrinae videamur vobis affectatores. *ib. c.* 1.

(*) *See Beauſ. T.* 2. *p.* 470. *&c.*

(s) Auditoribus autem veſtris —— ſecundum veniam haec edenda conceditis. —— Neque enim conceditur ſecundum veniam, niſi peccatum. Hoc vos de omni carnium cibo ſentitis, hoc et ipſi —— veſtros auditores docetis: ſed illis quod ſit ignoſcendum, propter quod vobis neceſſaria miniſtrant, ut dixi, conceditis, non dicentes non eſſe peccatum, ſed peccantibus veniam largientes. *Aug. contr. Fauſt. l.* 30. *c.* 5.

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he ſays, and to be forgiven only, becauſe they maintained the Elect.

And I queſtion, whether *Fauſtus* be ſincere, and may be relyed upon, in what he ſays of this matter. My doubts are owing to the very diſadvantageous expreſſions he makes uſe of in ſpeaking of the natural birth, in the 24th book of his work; ſeveral of which paſſages I have tranſcribed, or referred to: and to a paſſage in his 30th book, where he is profeſſedly treating on the point of marriage. For having ſaid, as before ſhewn, that they did not compel, but only commended, and exhorted to virginity, as the Catholics, he adds: "And *(t)* indeed, it "would be no leſs than madneſſe, for pri-"vate perſons to forbid what is allowed by "public authority." It ſeems therefore, that following their doctrine, they might have been diſpoſed to prohibit marriage, if it had been in their power.

It is ſayd, that *(u)* the Manicheans were ſeverely

(t) Et demens profecto ille, non tantum ſtultus putandus eſt, qui id exiſtimet lege privata prohiberi poſſe, quod ſit publica conceſſum: dico autem hoc ipſum nubere. *ib. c.* 4.

(u) Rex vero Perſarum, cum vidiſſet tam Catholicos et epiſcopos, quam Manichaeos Manetis ſectarios, a nuptiis abſtinere; in Manichaeos quidem ſententiam mortis tulit. Ad Chriſtianos

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severely treated by a King of *Persia* for discouraging marriage. Sect. IV.

I may mention another thought relating to this point, when I come to speak of their notion concerning the transmigration of souls.

If the Manicheans did not approve of marriage, they must have condemned fornication, and all such like irregularities. This is evident from the Acts of *Archelaus*, where *Mani* himself is made to say, that (x) adulterie, fornication, covetousnesse, and other things, are fruits of the evil root. Nor is marriage here mentioned among evil things.

Augustin indeed charges them with allowing wicked sensual gratifications, rather than marriage. But then, as (y) *Beausobre* observes, he presently adds: "I (z) doubt not,

Christianos vero idem edictum manavit. —— Quum igitur Christiani ad regem confugissent, jussit ille discrimen, quale inter utrosque esset, sibi exponi. *ap. Assem. Bib. Or. T.* 3. *p.* 220.

(x) —— fructus autem fornicationes, adulteria, homicidia, avaritia, et omnes mali actus malae istius radicis. *ap. Archel. c.* 17. *p.* 30.

(y) *T.* 2. *p.* 473.

(z) Non enim concubitum, sed ut longe ante ab apostolo dictum est, vere nuptias prohibetis, quae talis operis una est defensio. Hic non dubito vos esse clamaturos, invidiamque facturos dicendo, castitatem perfectam vos vehementer commendare

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" but you, at hearing this, will exclaim " againſt it, as injuſtice and calumnie. You " will ſay, that you praiſe and recommend " perfect chaſtity, but you do not forbid " marriage: foraſmuch as you do not hinder " your Auditors, the ſecond order among " you, from marrying and having wives." It is not eaſie to conceive, that (*a*) they, who ſeverely cenſured the polygamie of the Patriarchs, ſhould approve of worſe things in Chriſtians.

Of Free Will.

XIII. It is a difficult queſtion, whether the Manicheans believed free will. It is generally denyed. But *Beauſobre* does not concur in that ſentence. He has diſcourſed largely upon this point, and I refer to (*b*) him. I ſhall however cite a part of what he ſays.

" If (*c*) by free will be meaned a power " of

mendare atque laudare, non tamen nuptias prohibere: quandoquidem auditores veſtri, quorum apud vos ſecundus eſt gradus, ducere atque habere non prohibentur uxores. *De Mor. Manich. c.* 18. *n.* 65.

(*a*) Nec quod Jacob filius ejus inter Rachel et Liam duas germanas ſorores, earumque ſingulas famulas, quatuor uxorum maritus, tamquam hircus erraverit: ut eſſet quotidie, inter quatuor ſcorta certamen, quaenam eum venientem de agro prior ad concubitum raperet. *Fauſt. l.* 22. *cap.* 5.

(*b*) *T.* 2. *p.* 433 — 448.

(*c*) *ib. p.* 438.

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" of doing good, and reſiſting evil; it is Sect. IV.
" certain, that the Manicheans aſcribed it
" to the ſoul, which was ſent into matter.
" For *firſt*, when we ſhewed the opinion
" of theſe men concerning the creation of
" the world; we ſaw, that among the ſouls
" which God ſent to combat matter, there
" were ſome, that preſerved their purity en-
" tire; others, that were but little affected
" with the contagion of matter; and others,
" that were ſo corrupted, that they were
" left in this lower ſtage of the world. The
" creator placed them according to their
" merits. *Secondly*, when *Auguſtin* aſks *For-*
" *tunatus*, why God ſent ſouls into matter,
" that Manichean anſwers, to *(d)* tame it,
" and reduce it to order. They muſt there-
" fore have had the power of ſo doing.
" *Finally*, what ſuffers me not to doubt,
" that *Mani* acknowledged the ſoul's liberty
" in it's ſtate of innocence, is a paſſage in
" his letter to *Menoch*: The *(e)* firſt ſoul

(d) — — et in contraria natura eſſe animam diximus, ideo ut contrariae naturae modum imponeret: modo impoſito contrariae naturae, ſumit eamdem Deus. *Fort. Diſp.* 2. *n.* 35. *vid. et n.* 34.

(*e*) Operae, *inquit*, pretium eſt advertere, quia prima anima, quae a Deo luminis manavit, accepit fabricam iſtam corporis, ut eam fraeno ſuo regeret. *Man. ap. Aug. Op. Imp. l.* 3. *c.* 186.

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" that came from the God of light received " the machine of the body to govern it " with a rein."

And after a long diſcuſſion, that learned writer ſums up all in theſe three *(f)* propoſitions: " 1. The Manicheans allowed the " ſoul to be free in it's origin, and it's ſtate " of innocence. For it had power to re- " ſiſt evil, and to overcome it. 2. After " it's fall it had not abſolutly loſt that power, " but it had loſt the uſe, becauſe it was " ignorant of it's nature, and it's origin, and " it's true intereſts; and becauſe concupi- " ſcence, which has it's ſeat in the fleſh, " carryes it away by an invincible force to " do, or allow that which it condemns. " [or, in other words, the *(g)* ſoul has not " loſt it's liberty, but ignorance on the one " hand, and violence of paſſion on the " other, hinder it from making uſe of it's " power.] 3. The goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt " delivers the ſoul from that ſervitude, and " gives it ſufficient power to ſubdue ſin, and " to obey the law of God, provided it make " uſe of the helps therein afforded.

After

(f) *ib.* *p.* 447.
(g) *See p.* 448.

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After all which *Beauſobre* makes divers obſervations upon the controverſie with the Manicheans, as managed by ancient Chriſtian authors, and then concludes in this manner. Finally, "I *(h)* allow, that thoſe "ancient writers in general ſay, the Mani- "cheans denyed free will. The reaſon is, "that the Fathers believed, and maintained "againſt the Marcionites and Manicheans, "that whatever ſtate man is in he has the "command over his own actions, and has "equally power to do good and evil. *Au-* "*guſtin* himſelf reaſoned upon this principle, "as well as other Catholics his predeceſſors, "ſo long as he had to do with the Maniche- "ans. But when he came to diſpute with "the *Pelagians*, he changed his ſyſtem. "Then he denyed that kind of freedom, "which before he had defended. And, ſo "far as I am able to judge, his ſentiment "no longer differed from theirs concerning "the ſervitude of the will. He aſcribed "that ſervitude to the corruption, which "original ſin brought into our nature: where- "as the Manicheans aſcribed it to an evil "quality, eternally inherent in *(i)* matter."

(h) The ſame.

(i) More obſervations upon Auguſtin may be ſeen in the ſame author, p. 435——438.

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Of Fate.

XIV. *Socrates* ſayd, that *(k)* the Manicheans held the doctrine of Fate. Whether, and how far they did ſo, may be ſeen in *(l) Beauſobre*. For I do not chooſe to ſtay upon this point.

Of War.

XV. It is thought by ſome, that *(m)* the Manicheans denyed the lawfulneſſe of war.

Of the Tranſmigration of Souls.

XVI. *Socrates* informed us, that *(n)* the Manicheans held the tranſmigration of ſouls, which is very true. It is taken notice of in *(o)* the Acts of *Archelaus*, *(p)* in *Epiphanius*, *(q) Theodoret*, and other authors.

Agapius, as abridged by *Photius*, ſays, "that *(r)* ſouls, which have arrived at the "perfection of virtue, return to God: They "that

(k) See before, p. 24.

(l) T. 2. *p.* 424——432.

(m) See Beauſ. T. 2. *p.* 797. *and the authors quoted by him.*

(n) See p. 24.

(o) Archel. c. 9. *p.* 15.

(p) H. 66. *n.* 28.

(q) H. Fab. l. 1. *c.* 26. *p.* 214. *A.*

(r) Κρατύνει δὲ καὶ τὰς μετεμψυχώσεις, τὰς μὲν εἰς ἄκρον ἀρετῆς ἐλθοῦσας, εἰς θεὸν ἀναλύειν· τὰς δὲ εἰς ἄκρον κακίας πυρὶ δοθῆς καὶ σκότῳ· τὰς δὲ μέσως πως πολιτευσαμένας πάλιν εἰς σώματα ἄγων. *Phot. cod.* 179. *p.* 105.

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" that have been very wicked, are aſſigned Sect. IV.
" to fire and darkneſſe: But others of a
" midle rank, which have behaved but
" indifferently, and are neither very good
" nor very bad, paſs into other bodies."
That is only a ſummarie account. If we had *Agapius* himſelf, we ſhould ſee more particulars.

A paſſage of *Auguſtin* may induce us to think, it was their opinion, that (*s*) their Elect needed no purification after this life: and likewiſe that their Auditors in general, who were allowed to marry, trade, bear offices, and the like, paſſed into other bodies for purification, and farther tryal.

The paſſage I have referred to is in *Auguſtin*'s ſummarie account of the Manichean ſect. There is another like paſſage (*t*) in his

(*s*) Animas auditorum ſuorum in electos revolvi arbitrantur, aut feliciore compendio in eſcas electorum ſuorum, ut jam inde purgatae in nulla corpora revertantur. Ceteras autem animas et in pecora redire putant, et in omnia quae radicibus fixa ſunt, atque alunturin terra. *De H. c.* 46.

(*t*) Quid autem fallitis auditores veſtros, qui cum ſuis uxoribus, et filiis, et familiis, et domibus, et agris vobis ſerviunt, ſi quiſquis iſta omnia non dimiſerit, non accipit evangelium? Sed quia eis non reſurrectionem, ſed revolutionem ad iſtam mortalitatem promittitis, ut rurſus naſcantur, et vita Electorum veſtrorum vivant, —— aut ſi meliores meriti ſunt, in melones et

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work againſt *Fauſtus*, which I alſo put into the margin.

And perhaps this may afford an argument, that marriage, and other things, practiſed by the Auditors, were rather tolerated than approved, in the Manichean ſcheme. For which reaſon they who lived in that ſtate would uſually need to be purifyed, and to be put upon another trial in ſome other body.

Of the Reſurrection of the Body.

XVII. It is eaſie to conclude from what has been already ſayd, that the Manicheans did not believe the reſurrection of the body. As *Theodoret* ſays, "they (*u*) derided the "reſurrection of bodies. No part of mat- "ter, they ſayd, could be worthie of ſal- "vation."

According to them, Chriſt came to ſave ſouls. So their opinion is repreſented (*x*) in the Acts of *Archelaus*. *Auguſtin*'s account in

et cucumeres, vel in alios aliquos cibos veniant, quos vos manducaturi eſtis, ut veſtris ructatibus cito purgentur. &c. *Contr. Fauſt. l.* 5. *c.* x.

(*u*) Τὴν δὲ σωμάτων ἀνάστασιν ὡς μῦθον ἐκβάλλουσιν· οὐδὲν γὰρ τῆς ὕλης μόριον ἄξιον ὑπειλήφασι σωτηρίας. *Theod. H. F. l. i. cap. ult. p.* 214. *A.*

(*x*) Ἐπεμψε τὸν υἱὸν αὐτὸ τὸν ἠγαπημένον εἰς σωτηρίαν ψυχῶν. *ap. Arch. n.* 8. *p.* 12.

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in his book of Hereſies is, "they (*y*) ſay, "that Chriſt came to ſave ſouls, not bodies." Says *Fortunatus*, "We (*z*) believe, that Chriſt "came to deliver the ſoul from death, and "bring it back to eternal glorie, and reſtore "it to the Father." Again, ſays the ſame Manichean, "we (*a*) believe, that our Sa-"viour Chriſt came from heaven to fulfil "the will of the Father: whoſe will is, "that he ſhould deliver our ſouls from the "enmity by ſlaying it."

Their notion about matter led them into this opinion. And they argued from (*b*) ſeveral texts of Scripture, particularly from 1 Cor. xv. 50. *Fleſh and bloud cannot inherit the kingdom of God.*

They allowed a reſurrection of the ſoul now,

(*y*) —— eumque Chriſtum noviſſimis temporibus veniſſe ad animas, non ad corpora liberanda. *Aug. de H. c.* 46.

(*z*) —— ut eamdem de morte liberaret, et perduceret eam ad aeternam gloriam, et reſtitueret patri. *Fortunat. Diſp. i. n.* 11.

(*a*) Quemadmodum et Salvatorem Chriſtum credimus de coelo veniſſe, voluntatem Patris complere. Quae voluntas Patris haec erat, animas noſtras de eadem inimicitia liberare, interfecta eadem inimicitia. *Fortun. Diſp. i. n.* 17. *Vid. et Diſp. 2. n.* 24.

(*b*) *Vid. Epiph. Haer.* 6. *c.* 86. 87. *et Aug. contr. Adim. c.* 12. *n.* 4. *et contr. Fauſt. l. xi. c.* 3.

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Sect. IV. now, when (c) being enlightened by the doctrine of the gospel, it purifyed itself from carnal affections. And they might speak of the resurrection, or (d) ascent of the soul, when it should return to God. But they absolutly denyed the resurrection of bodies.

Souls, when they have finished their purification here, return to the world of light, whence they came. But, which is somewhat strange, they pass by the way of the moon, and the sun: which (e) by the Manicheans were considered as ships or vessels of passage, by which souls return, and are conveyed to heaven.

According to them, the encrease of the moon is caused by souls, or parts of light ascending

(c) —— qui dicitis nunc esse resurrectionem tantummodo animarum, per praedicationem veritatis: corporum autem, quam praedicaverunt apostoli, futuram negetis. *Aug. contr. Faust. l. 4. c. 2.*

(d) *Vid. Fortunat. Disp. i. n. 7. ii. n. 33.*

(e) Quicquid vero undique purgatur luminis, per quasdam naves, quas esse lunam et solem volunt, regno Dei, tanquam propriis sedibus reddi. *Aug. de Haer. c. 46. sub in.* —— quod delira imperitia Manichaei opinantes, repleri eam dicunt, sicut repletur navis, ex fugitiva Dei parte. —— Hinc ergo impleri lunam dicunt, cum eadem pars Dei magnis laboribus ab inquinamento purgatur, de toto mundo —— fugiens, redditur Deo —— repleri vero per mensem dimidium, et alio dimidio in solem refundi, velut in aliam navem. *Aug. Epist. 155. al. 119. cap. 4. n. 7.*

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ascending thither from the earth: and it's decrease by the departure of souls, which are thence transmitted to the sun. This appears absurd, and might be incredible, if it was not affirmed by *(f) Augustin*, *(g) Archelaus*, *(h) Titus* of *Bostra*, and *(i)* others. Sect. IV.

XVIII. The Manicheans expected a future judgement, as *(k)* before shewn. And more passages might be alleged. *Mani (l)* professeth it in the Acts of *Archelaus*. *Of the future Judgment, and the Eternity of Hell-Torments.*

But it is doubtful, whether they believed the eternity of hell-torments.

Mani, in the Dispute with *Archelaus*, says, "that (*m*) all sorts of souls will be "saved, and the lost sheep will be brought "back to the fold." A passage of the Epistle of the Foundation, preserved by the author

(f) See the preceding note.

(g) Πλοῖα γάρ, ἤτοι σορθμεῖα εἶναι λέγει τὰς δύο φωστῆρας· εἶτα ἐὰν γεμισθῇ ἡ σελήνη, μεταπορθμεύει εἰς ἀπηλιώτην, κ. λ. *ap. Arch. n.* 8. *p.* 13.

(h) Tit. l. i. p. 69. *in.*

(i) Epiph. H. 66. *n.* 9. *p.* 626. *B. C. Thdrt. T.* 4. *p.* 213. *C.*

(k) See p. 177.

(l) Dicat tamen ipse, si est judicium piorum et impiorum. *Manes dixit:* Est judicium. *ap. Arch. n.* 32. *p.* 54.

(m) Et salvabitur omne animarum genus, ac restituetur quod perierat proprio suo gregi. *ap. Arch. c.* 25. *p.* 41. 42.

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thor *De Fide*, ſeems to ſpeak *(n)* of ſome ſouls as loſt: which ſhall be forever excluded from the holy land, and the regions of light and happineſſe. They are ſuch as have been enemies to the light, and have perſecuted the church, and the elect therein.

Auguſtin ſeems to have ſuppoſed it to be their opinion, that *(o)* ſome ſouls would finally periſh. And, in his arguments with them, he often inſiſts upon it, as an undeniable thing, that *(p)* all the light that was mixed with darkneſſe, or all the good, or celeſtial ſubſtance,

(*n*) Item in epiſtola fundamenti ſic dicit de illis animabus, quae mundi amore errare ſe a priore lucida ſua natura paſſae ſunt, —— infeſta etiam perſecutione ſua ſanctam eccleſiam atque electos in eadem conſtitutos coeleſtium praeceptorum obſervatores afflixerunt, a beatitudine et gloria ſanctae terrae arcentur. Et quia a malo ſe ſuperari paſſae ſunt, in eadem mala ſtirpe perſeverabunt, pacifica illa terra et regionibus immortalibus ſibimet interdictis. *De Fide cap.* 5. *ap. Aug. T.* 8.

(*o*) Ipſi enim dicunt, Deum genti tenebrarum aeternum carcerem praeparare, quam dicunt eſſe inimicam Deo. Et parum eſt, ſed etiam ſua membra ſimul cum ipſa gente puniturum eſſe non dubitant dicere: *Contr. Adim. c. vii. n.* 1. Dicunt enim etiam nonnullas animas, quas volunt eſſe de ſubſtantia Dei, et ejuſdem omnino naturae, quae non ſponte peccaverunt, ſed a gente tenebrarum, quam mali naturam dicunt, ad quam debellandam non ultro, ſed Patris imperio deſcenderunt, ſuperatae et oppreſſae ſint, affigi in aeternam globo horribili tenebrarum. *De Nat. Boni. c.* 42.

(*p*) Quarum inter ſe pugnam et commixtionem, et boni a malo purgationem, et boni quod purgari non poterit in aeternum

ſtance, that was ſent into matter at the formation of the world, would never be again entirely ſeparated from it: which he conſiders, as a great objection againſt their ſcheme.

Simplicius likewiſe argues with them upon the ſuppoſition, that *(q)* ſome parts of the good ſubſtance, or ſome ſouls, are forever loſt, and never again ſeparated from the evil ſubſtance.

In his ſummarie account *Auguſtin* repreſents it to be their opinion, that *(r)* the demons

num damnationem, ſecundum ſua dogmata aſſeverantes. &c. *Aug. de Haer. c.* 46. *ſub in.* Deum denique bonum et verum dicunt cum tenebrarum gente pugnaſſe, et partem ſuam tenebrarum principibus miſcuiſſe, eamque toto mundo inquinatam et ligatam per cibos Electorum ſuorum, ac per ſolem et lunam purgari aſſeverant. Et quod purgari de ipſa parte Dei non poterit, in fine ſaeculi aeterno ac poenali vinculo colligari. —— *Aug. Ep.* 236. *al.* 74. Natura vero Dei captiva ducta eſt, iniqua facta eſt, nec poteſt tota purgari, cogitur in fine damnari. *Contr. Secund. c.* 20. *ſub fin.* Nunc vero infelices audent adhuc dicere, nec totam poſſe purgari, et ipſam partem, quae purgari non potuerit, proficere ad vinculum, — et affigatur in aeternum carcere tenebrarum. *De Agon. Chriſtian. cap. iv. Opp. T.* 6.

(q) Αυται ἓν ὐδὲ ἐπιστρέφουσι, ἔτι φασὶν, εἰς τὸ ἀγαθὸν, ἀλλὰ μένουσι τῷ κακῷ συγκεκολλημέναι. *in Epict. c.* 34. *p.* 165. —— διὰ τὸ τινὰς, ὡς πρότερον ἐμνήσθην, ψυχὰς μένειν κατ' αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ κακῷ τε καὶ λοιπὸν τὸν ἄπειρον αἰῶνα. *ib. p.* 166.

(r) Sed a nobis ſejunctam atque ſecluſam ſubſtantiam iſtam maſſ, et finito iſto ſaeculo poſt conflagrationem mundi in globo

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mons ſhall in the end be buryed alive in the hideous maſſe of darkneſſe, and that ſome ſouls will be appointed to keep them faſt ſhut up, and watch them as guards, and cover the kingdom of light from all attempts of the princes of darkneſſe. He ſpeaks to the like purpoſe (*s*) elſewhere. Nor is this diſagreeable to a paſſage of *Mani*'s Epiſtle of the Foundation, as (*t*) cited by the author *De Fide*.

All

globo quodam, tamquam in carcere ſempiterno, eſſe victuram. Cui globo affirmant acceſſurum ſemper et adhaeſurum quaſi coopertorium atque tectorium ex animabus, natura quidem bonis, ſed tamen quae non potuerint a naturae malae contagione mundari. *De Haer. c.* 46. *in fin.*

(*s*) Dicat quod vult, includat in globo tamquam in carcere gentem tenebrarum, et forinſecus affigat naturam lucis, —— ecce pejor eſt poena lucis quam tenebrarum, pejor eſt poena divinae naturae quam gentis adverſae. Illa quippe, etſi in tenebris intus eſt, ad naturam ejus pertinet in tenebris habitare. Animae autem quae hoc ſunt quod Deus, —— a vita ac libertate ſanctae lucis alienabuntur, et configentur in praedicto horribili globo. *De Nat. Bon. c.* 42. *ſub fin.* —— ſuamque naturam bonam malo coercendo ſuperandoque miſcuiſſe, quam turpiſſime pollutam —— labore magno vix mundet ac liberet, non totam tamen: ſed quod ejus non potuerit ab illa inquinatione purgari, tegmen ac vinculum futurum hoſtis victi et iuncluſi. *De Civ. Dei l. xi. c.* 22.

(*t*) Non igitur poterunt recipi in regna pacifica, ſed configentur in praedicto horribili globo, cui etiam neceſſe eſt cuſtodiam adhiberi. *ap. libr. de Fide c.* 5. *Conf. Aug. contr. Fauſt. l.* 21. *c.* 16. *et de Nat. Boni. cap.* 42.

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All which however, as *Beauſobre* ſays, means no more than a privation of happineſſe, or a labour and taſk, rather than a puniſhment. Indeed, it is reaſonable to think, the (*x*) Manicheans ſhould allow but very few, if any ſouls, to be loſſed and periſh forever. That could not be reckoned honorable to the Deity, conſidering how ſouls were ſent into matter. The doctrine of tranſmigration may have been contrived for this purpoſe. The Manicheans were very generous in this reſpect. They allowed ſouls no leſs than five (*y*) bodies for tryal.

XIX. The Manicheans believed, that after a certain period this (*z*) viſible world would be conſumed by fire. But, as (*a*) *Turbo* ſays in the Acts of *Archelaus*, he had not been informed

Of the End of the World.

(*u*) Ainſi la peine de ces ames n'eſt proprement qu' une privation de felicité, et un travail plutôt qu' une ſupplice. *Beauſ. T.* 2. *p.* 574.

(*x*) C' eſt un fait conſtant. Les Manicheens n'ont point cru la perte éternelle d'aucune ame. *ib. p.* 572. *in.*

(*y*) Ἐρῶ δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ τοῦτο, πῶς μεταγγίζεται ἡ ψυχὴ εἰς πέντε σώματα. *ap. Arch. n.* 9. *in. Vid. et Epiph. H.* 66. *c.* 28. *in.*

(*z*) *Vid. ſupr. not.* (*r*) *p.* 269.

(*a*) —— ἤρχμην ἐν τῷ πῦρ καταναλῶσαι τὸν κόσμον ὅλον, ἐν ποσοῖς ποτὲ ἔτεσιν, ἂν εἰκ ἔμαθον τὴν ποσότητα. *ap. Arch. c. xi. p.* 22.

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informed how long it would be, before that happened. However *Ebed-Jeſu*, quoted by *(b) Beauſobre*, ſays, that (*c*) according to the Manicheans the world would come to an end, when it had ſubſiſted nine thouſand years.

Reaſons of their believing in Chriſt.

XX. The Manicheans were Chriſtians, as was particularly *(d)* ſhewn above. But they rejected the Old Teſtament, and pretended, they *(e)* could there ſee no prophecies about Chriſt; neither in Moſes, nor in the other Prophets. They therefore wanted that argument of faith in Jeſus. As *(f) Fauſtus* ſays, "being

(*b*) *T.* 2. *p.* 580.

(*c*) Manichaei reſurrectionem abnegantes contra Chriſtianos jejunium luctumque in die dominico faciunt, aientes, in ipſo die fore ut hoc ſaeculum ſubeat interitum diſſolutionemque omnem poſt circulum novem millium annorum. *ap. Aſſem. Bib. Or. T.* 3. *P.* 2. *p.* 361.

(*d*) *See p.* 170.

(*e*) Alioquin nihil eos de Chriſto prophetaſſe abunde jam parentum libris oſtenſum eſt. *Fauſt. l.* 12. *Conf. l.* 13. *in.*

Quia omnem, ut dixi, Moyſeos ſcripturam ſcrutatus, nullas ibi de Chriſto prophetias inveni. *Id. l.* 16. *c.* 3.

(*f*) Quomodo Chriſtum colitis, prophetas repudiantes, quorum ex praeſagiis accipitur fuiſſe venturum? —— Porro autem nos natura Gentiles ſumus —— non ante effecti Judaei, ut merito Hebraeorum ſequeremur fidem, euntes ad Chriſtianiſmum; ſed ſola exciti fama, et virtutum opinione, atque ſapientia liberatoris noſtri Chriſti Jeſu. *Id. l.* 13.

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" ing Gentils by nature, and not Jews, they " came directly to Chriſt, excited by the " fame of his virtues and wiſdom." He farther ſays, " that *(g)* they were induced " to believe in Jeſus for the ſake of the voice " of God, not ſpeaking by a Prophet or in- " terpreter, but ſaying himſelf, when he " ſent his ſon from heaven: *This is my be-* " *loved ſon, hear him.*" " We *(h)* alſo be- " lieve his own word, who ſayd: *I came* " *forth from the Father, and came into the* " *world,* and much more to the like pur- " poſe." " Moreover *(i)* he appeals to his " works. *If ye believe not me, believe the* " *works.* [Joh. x. 38.] He does not ſay, " believe the Prophets." For ſuch reaſons then they believed in Jeſus Chriſt, and received him as the Son of God, and their Lord and Saviour. Sect. IV.

(g) —— quis fidelior vobis eſſe teſtis debet, quam Deus ipſe de Filio ſuo, qui non per vatem, nec per interpretem, ſed ultro coelitus erupta voce, cum eum mitteret ad terram dixit: Hic eſt Filius meus delectiſſimus: Credite illi. *Id. l.* 12.

(h) Nec non et ipſe de ſe: A Patre meo proceſſi, et veni in hunc mundum; atque multa alia hujuſmodi. *ib.*

(i) Ad haec et opera ipſa ſua ſibi in teſtimonium vocat: Si mihi non creditis, dicens, operibus credite. Non dixit, ſi mihi non creditis, prophetis credite. *ibid.*

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That Christ was God, but not man.

XXI. The Manicheans believed Jesus Christ to be God, but not man. They believed him to be God truly, man in appearance only.

Turbo, once disciple of *Mani*, in the Acts of *Archelaus*, represents his master's opinion upon that head in this manner. "The (*k*) "Son of God came, and took the form of "a man. He appeared to men, as a man; "though he was not a man, and they took "him for a man born."

In the same work *Mani* is brought in saying, "that (*l*) Jesus appeared indeed in the "form of a man, but yet was not a man."

Ancient Catholic authors often take notice of this opinion of theirs, and represent it after this manner.

Augustin in his summarie account of their principles says, "They (*m*) deny the real "flesh

(*k*) Καὶ ἐλθὼν ὁ υἱὸς μετεσχημάτισεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς ἀνθρώπου εἶδος, καὶ ἐφάνετο τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὡς ἄνθρωπος, μὴ ὢν ἄνθρωπος, καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὑπελάμβανον αὐτὸν γεγενῆσθαι. *ap. Arch. c.* 8. *p.* 12.

(*l*) Sicut vos Jesus ostendit, ejus qui apparuit quidem in hominis specie, nec tamen fuit homo. *ap. Arch. n.* 47. *p.* 85.

(*m*) Nec fuisse in carne vera, sed simulatam speciem carnis ludificandis humanis sensibus praebuisse, ubi non solum mortem

" flesh of Christ, and affirm that he had Sect. IV.
" only the appearance of flesh: and that nei-
" ther his death, nor his resurrection was
" real." In another place, " that (*n*) they
" believed not a real, but only a seeming,
" imaginarie death of Christ, and no nativity
" at all, not so much as in appearance."

In another place *Augustin* says, " they (*o*)
" do not deny our Lord Jesus Christ to be
" God, but they pretend that he appeared
" to men without taking the human na-
" ture."

Theodoret's account is, " They (*p*) say,
" that Christ took neither soul nor body,
" but appeared as a man, though he had no-
" thing human: and that his crosse, passion,
" and death, were in appearance only."

tem, verum etiam resurrectionem similiter mentiretur. *De H. c.* 46.

(*n*) Cur ipsi mortem non veram, sed imaginariam Christi affirmant; nativitatem autem non saltem talem, sed prorsus nullam delegerunt? *Contr. Faust. l.* 29. *c.* 3.

(*o*) —— cum ipsi dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Deum esse non negent, et sine assumtione humani corporis eum hominibus apparuisse confingant. *Aug. Serm.* 12. [*al. de diversis* 16.] *cap.* 8.

(*p*) Τὸν δὲ κύριον οὔτε ψυχὴν ἀνειληφέναι φασὶν, οὔτε σῶμα, ἀλλὰ φανῆναι ὡς ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ἐδόκει ἀνθρώπινον ἔχοντα· καὶ τὸν σταυρὸν δὲ, καὶ τὸ πάθος, καὶ τὸν θάνατον, φαντασίαν γενέσθαι. *Tht. H. F. T.* 4. *p.* 213. 214.

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Athanasius says, the *(q)* Manicheans deny, that the Word was made flesh. Again, they *(r)* do not believe our Lord's incarnation and humanity.

Ambrose says, they (*s*) did not believe that Christ came in the flesh.

Jerome speaks of (*t*) their allowing the salvation of the soul only, and saying, that both the birth and the resurrection of Christ were in appearance only. And therefore we cannot form an argument for the resurrection of our bodies from his resurrection, because he rose in appearance only.

So say the Catholics. Let us now observe the Manicheans themselves, that we may judge,

(*q*) —— ἀρνῦνται τὸ, ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο. *Ath. Or. i. contr. Arian. p.* 457. *D.*

(*r*) Οὕτω δὲ μανιχαῖος ἀπιστήσας τῇ σαρκώσει καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσει τοῦ κυρίου. *Contr. Apoll. l. i. p.* 939. *D.*

(*s*) —— Cum Manichaeus adoraverit, quem in carne veniſſe non credidit. *Ambr. de Fid. l.* 5. *c.* 14. *T.* 2. *p.* 583. *E.*

(*t*) Haereticos vero, in quorum parte ſunt Marcion, Apelles, Valentinus, Manes, nomen inſaniae, penitus et carnis et corporis reſurrectionem negare, et ſalutem tantum tribuere animae; fruſtraque nos dicere ad exemplum Domini reſurrecturos, quum ipſe quoque Dominus in phantaſmate reſurrexerit; et non ſolum reſurrectio ejus, ſed et ipſa nativitas τῷ δοκεῖν, id eſt, putative viſa magis ſit quam fuerit. *Hier. ad Pamm. Ep.* 38. *al.* 61. *T.* 4. *p.* 320. *m.*

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judge, whether they have been misrepresented. Sect. IV.

It is plain, that according to them Jesus was pure deity. The Catholics argued, that Christ had been foretold in the books of Moses, particularly in Deut. xviii. 18. *I will raise them up a Prophet from among their brethren, like unto thee. Him shall ye hear.* How does *Faustus* answer that argument? It is in this manner: "That (*u*) this does "not belong to Christ, any one may see. "For Christ is not a Prophet, nor a Prophet "like unto Moses. Moses was a man, Christ "is God. He was a sinner, Christ holy. He "was born in the ordinarie way: Christ, ac- "cording to you, was born of a virgin, ac- "cording to me not at all. —— How then "can he be a Prophet, like unto Moses?"

Faustus often denyes Christ's (*x*) nativity. And again and again insists upon the im-

 propriety,

(*u*) —— Sed hoc quidem ad Christum minime spectare, nec Judaeum latet, nec nobis sic credere conducibile est: quia non propheta Christus, nec Moysi similis propheta: siquidem ille fuerit homo, hic Deus; ille peccator, hic sanctus; ille ex coitu natus, hic secundum te ex virgine, secundum me vero nec ex virgine. *Faust. l.* 16. *c.* 4.

(*x*) Accipis evangelium? Et maxime. Proinde ergo et natum accipis Christum? Non ita est. Neque enim sequitur, ut si evangelium accipio, idcirco et natum accipiam Christum. *Faust. l.* 2. *in.*

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propriety, that (*y*) God, and the God of the Chriſtians too, ſhould be born.

They pretended, that it was diſhonorable for Chriſt to be born of a woman. This argument is taken notice of in the Acts of (*z*) *Archelaus*.

It is eaſie to ſuppoſe, that the Catholic Chriſtians put theſe people in mind of thoſe texts of the New Teſtament, where (*a*) Jeſus is ſayd to be the ſon of David, of the ſeed of David, according to the fleſh, and the like: to which, however, they gave anſwers, ſuch as they are.

The Manicheans argued from the firſt chapter of St. John's Goſpel ver. 5. *And the light*

(*y*) Accipis ergo generationem? Equidem conatus diu ſum hoc ipſum qualecunque eſt perſuadere mihi, quia ſit natus Deus. —— Quamvis nec ſic quidem dignum erit ex utero natum credere Deum, et Deum Chriſtianorum. *Id. l.* 3. *in. et fin.*

Sed non, inquit, accipere evangelium hoc ſolum eſt, ſi quod praecepit facias: ſed ut etiam credas omnibus quae in eodem ſcripta ſunt, quorum primum eſt illud, quia ſit natus Deus. *Id. l.* 5. *c.* 2.

(*z*) Ergo non putas, eum ex Maria virgine eſſe? *Manes dixit:* Abſit, ut Dominum noſtrum Jeſum Chriſtum per naturalia pudenda mulieris deſcendiſſe confitear. *ap. Arch. c.* 47. *p.* 85. *Vid. et cap.* 5. *p.* 8.

(*a*) Apoſtolum accipis? Et maxime. Cur ergo non credis Filium Dei, ex ſemine David, natum ſecundum carnem? —— *Fauſt. l. xi. in.*

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light ſhineth in darkneſſe, and the darkneſſe comprehended it not. The *light* is the Word, or the divine nature: the *darkneſſe*, according to them, is the fleſh, or matter, the evil ſubſtance. *The light* ſhined in the darkneſſe, but the darkneſſe could not touch, ſeize, lay hold of the light: nor indeed would the light touch the darkneſſe, or ſuffer itſelf to be touched by it. This thought is in a fragment of one of *Mani*'s (*b*) letters. Sect. IV.

And this leads us to think, that this notion was chiefly owing to their doctrine of two Principles. Believing matter, of which the body is formed, to be evil in itſelf, they could not allow a divine perſon to be united to the human nature. And (*c*) therefore they pretended, that our Lord had only the appearance of fleſh, without the reality.

They ſayd, that (*d*) Chriſt came directly

(*b*) Μία τῦ φωτὸς ἐστιν ἁπλῆ καὶ ἀληθὴς ἡ φύσις, καὶ μία αὐτῦ ἡ ἐνέργεια· τὸ φῶς γὰρ ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ φάινει, καὶ ἡ σκοτία αὐτὸ οὐκ ἔλαβεν· ἃ γὰρ οὐσίας ἦλθε σαρκὸς, ἀλλ' ὁμοιώματος καὶ σχήματι σαρκὸς ἐσκιάσθη, ἵνα μὴ κρατηθῇ διὰ τῆς σαρκὸς, καὶ πάθῃ, καὶ φθαρθῇ, τῆς σκοτίας φθαρίσης αὐτῦ τὴν ἐνέργειαν τὴν φωτεινὴν, *Manet. Ep. Zeben. ap. Fabric. B. Gr. T. v. p.* 284.

(*c*) *See Beauſ. T. i. p.* 378.

(*d*) Mihi enim pium videtur dicere, quod nihil egerit filius Dei, in eo quod adventus ejus procuratur ad terras, neque

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Sect. IV.

from heaven. They argued this from all those texts, where *(e)* our Lord speaks of his *coming from the Father*, *being sent by the Father*, and the like.

They argued likewise, that our Lord was not born of a woman; because *(f)* when some weak people, as they call them, told him, his mother and his brethren stood without, he answered, *Who is my mother? and who are my brethren?* Matth. xii. 47. 48. This text was often insisted on by them. And their argument is handsomly answerd by *(g)* *Jerome*. Indeed, any men, not under

que opus habuerit columba, neque baptismate, neque matre, neque fratribus, fortasse neque patre, qui ei secundum te fuit Josephi; sed totus ille ipse descendens, &c. *Manes ap. Arch. c. 50. p. 91.*

(e) Ipse enim testimonium dat, quia de finibus Patris descendit. Et, *qui me recipit, recepit eum, qui me misit.* Et, *non veni facere voluntatem meam, sed ejus qui misit me.* Et, *non sum missus nisi ad oves perditas Israel.* Sunt et alia innumera testimonia hujusmodi, quae indicant eum venisse, non natum esse. *ap. Arch. c. 47. p. 85.*

(f) Manes dixit; Similis tui quidam, cum ei aliquando dixisset, *Maria mater tua*, et fratres tui foris *stant*, non libenter accipiens, eum qui dixerat, increpavit, dicens: Quae est mater mea, aut qui sunt fratres mei? et ostendit eos, qui facerent voluntatem suam, et matres sibi esse et fratres. *ap. Arch. ib. p. 85.*

(g) Non ergo juxta Marcionem et Manichaeum matrem negavit, ut natus de phantasmate putaretur; sed apostolos cognationi praetulit, ut et nos in comparatione dilectionis carni spiritum praeferamus. *In Matt. T. 4. p. 52. f.*

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der the biaſſe of ſome prejudice, might perceive, that our Lord does not here diſown any earthly relations: but preſerving a due affection for them, he declares, that he conſidered every truly good man and woman, as his mother, his brother and ſiſter; that is, all ſuch were dear to him. And he teaches us, not to ſuffer ourſelves to be diverted from any important ſervice by the unſeaſonable importunities of earthly friends and relatives. *Auguſtin* obſerves, they *(h)* might as well argue, that the diſciples had no earthly fathers, becauſe Chriſt ſays to them: *Call no man your father upon earth: for one is your Father, which is in heaven.* Matt. xxiii. 9. Sect. IV.

As they were greatly preſſed by the Catholic argument from the genealogies in *Matthew* and *Luke*, they endeavored to evade it many ways. Sometimes they diſputed *(i)* the genuinneſſe of thoſe genealogies, and *(k)* they

(h) Cujus rei exemplum praebuit prior ipſe dicendo: Quae mihi mater, aut qui fratres? Unde volunt quidam perniciosiſſimi haeretici aſſerere, non eum habuiſſe matrem. Nec vident eſſe conſequens, ſi haec verba attendant, ut nec diſcipuli ejus patres habuerint: quia ſicut ipſe dixit, quae mihi mater eſt; ſic illos docuit, cum ait: Nolite vobis dicere patrem in terris. *Enarr. in Pſ. ix. n.* 31. *T.* 4.

(i) Vid. Fauſt. l. 2. *et* 7.

(k) Vid. eund. l. 3.

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Sect. IV.

they insisted upon the differences and seeming contrarieties in them, as recorded by those two Evangelists. They likewise argued, that *(l)* they were contrarie to all those declarations of Christ, where he disowned all earthly kindred, and sayd, he came from heaven, and was not of this world.

They argued from Christ's escape from the Jews, when they would have stoned him. See John viii. 59. This argument is in *Mani* himself: "By (*m*) that escape, he says, "Christ shewed his essence, and that he was "the Son of the true light. He went away "from them, without being seen. The "immaterial form was not visible, nor tan-"gible, though there was the appearance of "flesh. For what is material can have no "commu-

(l) Quare non credis in genealogiam Jesu? Multae quidem sunt causſae. Sed palmaris illa, quia nec ipse ore suo usquam se fatetur patrem habere, aut genus in terra, sed e contra, quia non sit de hoc mundo, quia a Patre Deo processerit, quia descenderit de coelo, quia non sibi sint mater et fratres, nisi qui fecerint voluntatem Patris sui qui in coelis est. *Faust. l.* 7.

(m) Ἰωάννην βουλόμενον ποτὲ λιθάσαι τὸν χριστὸν, —— ἔδειξε σαφῶς τὴν αὐτῦ οὐσίαν ὁ τῦ ἀνωτάτω φωτὸς υἱὸς, καὶ μέσος αὐτῶν διελθὼν οὐχ ὁρᾶτο· ἡ γὰρ ἄυλος μορφὴ συσχηματισαμένη τὸ εἶδος τῆς σαρκὸς, ὁρατὴ μὲν οὐκ ἦν, ἐψηλαφᾶτο δὲ ὁσαρῶς, διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν ἔχειν κοινωνίαν τὴν ὕλην πρὸς τὸ ἄϋλον, εἰ μὴ σαρκὸς ὡρᾶτο μορφή. *Man. Epi ad. Cudar. ap. Fabr. ib. p.* 285.

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" communion with an immaterial ſubſtance, Sect. IV.
" though this appear in the form of fleſh."
It is likely, that (*n*) here is a reference to thoſe words of St. *Paul*, 2 Cor. vi. 4. *What communion hath light with darkneſſe?*

They argued from our Lord's transfiguration. *Mani* himſelf in a fragment ſays: " The (*o*) Son of the eternal light manifeſted " his nature on the mount."

In another fragment (*p*) *Mani* banters the Galileans, as he calls them, for believing two natures in Chriſt: not conſidering, that the nature of light cannot be mixed with matter. " For it is ſimple and uncompounded, " and cannot be joyned to matter. The " ſupreme light, being among material things, " ſhewed a body, whilſt ſtill it was one na- " ture only."

Theſe, and ſuch like arguments, had great influence upon *Auguſtin*'s mind for a long time, as (*q*) he humbly owns.

Farther,

(*n*) *See Beauſ. T.* 2. *p.* 530.

(*o*) ὁ δὲ τῦ ἀϊδίυ φωτὸς υἱὸς τὴν ἰδίαν ὐσίαν ἐν τῷ ὄρει ἐφανέρωσεν. *ap. Fabr. B. Gr. T.* 5. *p.* 285.

(*p*) Τῶν γαλιλάιων δύο φύσεις ἀνομαζόντων ἔχειν τὸν χριςὸν, πλαςὸν καταχέομεν γέλωτα —— τὸ δὲ ἀνάπαυσον φῶς τοῖς ἑαυτῦ συγκεκιρμένοις ἔδειξεν ἑαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς ὑλικοῖς σώμασι σῶμα· μία ὢν αὐτὸς φύσις τὸ πᾶν. *ap. Fabr. ib.*

(*q*) Ipſum quoque ſalvatorem noſtrum unigenitum tuum, tamquam

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Farther, we find *Fauſtus* arguing from (r) our Saviour's eſcape at *Nazareth*, when the people would have caſt him down from the brow of the hill: or, as he ſays, when they did ſo, and yet he eſcaped.

And to prove, that Jeſus was man in appearance only, they (s) referred to thoſe words in Philip ii. 7. *And was found in faſhion as a man.*

Whereas it was objected to them, that (t) if Jeſus had not been born, and had not an human body, he could not have been ſeen or heard by men; they anſwered, that angels had

tamquam de maſſa lucidiſſimae molis tuae porrectum ad noſtram ſalutem, ita putabam. ——Talem itaque naturam ejus naſci non poſſe de Maria virgine arbitrabar, niſi carni concerneretur. Concerni enim et non inquinari non videbam, quod mihi talé figurabam. Metuebam itaque credere in carne natum, ne credere cogerer ex carne inquinatum. *Confeſſ. l. 5. c. x. n. 20.*

(r) Legitur id quoque, quod de ſupercilio montis jactatus aliquando a Judaeis, illaeſus abierit. &c. *Fauſt. l. 26. c. 2.*

(s) Sed totus ille ipſe deſcendens ſemetipſum in quocumque voluit transformavit in hominem, eo pacto quo Paulus dicit, quia habitu repertus eſt ut homo. *ap. Arch. n. 50. p. 91.*

(t) Nam illud quidem quod ſaepe affirmare ſoletis, neceſſario eum eſſe natum, quia alias hominibus videri aut loqui non poſſet, ridiculum eſt: cum multoties, ut jam probatum a noſtris eſt, angeli, et viſi hominibus et locuti eſſe monſtrentur. *Fauſt. l. 29. c. i. f.*

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had been ſeen, and had converſed with men, though they had not human bodies. Sect. IV.

XXII. As the Manicheans did not believe, that Chriſt was born, or had true body; ſo neither did they believe, that he was really crucifyed, or that he dyed. They did not deny (*u*) that he was apprehended by the Jews, and, ſo far as in them lay, faſtened to the croſſe, and that he ſeemed to dye. But they did not allow, that he really dyed. *Of Chriſt's Crucifixion, Death, and Reſurrection.*

So *Fauſtus* ſays, without any heſitation, or ambiguity. "We (*x*) own, that he ſuffered "in appearance, but he did not really dye." Again, "it (*z*) is our opinion, that Jeſus "did not dye." He likewiſe ſays: "As (*a*) "from the begining, having taken the like-"neſſe of man, he appeared to have all the "infirmities of the human ſtate; ſo, at the "concluſion of his tranſaction here, it was "not

(*u*) *See Beauſ. T. i. p. 228. 229.*

(*x*) Denique nos ſpecie tenus paſſum confitemur, nec vere mortuum. *Fauſt. l. 29. c. i.*

(*z*) alioquin nobis nec Jeſus mortuus eſt, nec eſt immortalis Elias. *Id. l. 26. c. 2. f.*

(*a*) Ut enim ab initio ſumta hominis ſimilitudine omnes humanae conditionis ſimulavit affectus, ſic ab re non erat, ſi in fine quoque conſignandae oeconomiae gratia fuiſſet viſus et mori. *Id. l. 26. c. i. f.*

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" not improper," that he ſhould ſeem to " dye."

Mani himſelf in his fragments ſays: " A " *(b)* ſimple nature does not dye, nor is an " appearance of fleſh crucifyed." And *(c)* more to the like purpoſe.

Auguſtin (d) paſſeth a juſt cenſure upon their notion of a ſeeming death, and an imaginarie, deceitful reſurrection.

Nevertheleſs they often ſpeak *(e)* of Chriſt's being made ſubject to death, buryed, and raiſed from the dead by the power of the Father.

(b) Απλῆ φύσι οὐ ἀποθνήσκει, οὐδὲ σχῆμα σαρκὸς ὁ σταυροῦται. *Manes ap. Fabr. T. 5. p. 284.*

(c) Πῶς οὖν ἔπαθε, μήτε τῆς κακίας κρατυμένης, μήτε τῆς ἐνεργείας αὐτὸ σκοτισθείσης; *Id. ibid.*

(d) Sed illud eſt quod magiae ſimile dicimini aſſerere, quod paſſionem mortemque ejus ſpecie tenus factam, et fallaciter dicitis adumbratam, ut mori videretur, qui non moriebatur. Ex quo fit, ut ejus quoque reſurrectionem umbraticam, imaginariam, fallacemque dicatis: neque enim ejus, qui non vere mortuus eſt, vera reſurrectio eſſe poteſt. Ita fit, ut et cicatrices diſcipulis dubitantibus falſas oſtenderit. &c. *Aug. contr. Fauſt. l. 29. c. 2.*

(e) Hoc ergo ſentimus de nobis quod et de Chriſto, qui cum in forma Dei eſſet conſtitutus, factus eſt ſubditus uſque ad mortem, ut ſimilitudinem animarum noſtrarum oſtenderet. Et quemadmodum in ſe mortis ſimilitudinem oſtendit, et ſe a Patre eſſe de medio mortuorum reſuſcitatum; eo modo ſentimus et de animis noſtris futurum, quod per ipſum poterimus ab hac morte liberari. *Fortun. Diſp. i. n. 7.*

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Father. They believed, that *(f)* for our Salvation Christ hung upon the croſſe. And therefore *Fauſtus* pretends to be exceſſively angrie with Moſes for that ſaying: *Curſed is every one that hangeth on a tree.* Deut. xxi. 23. They likewiſe ſpeak *(g)* of our Lord's ſhewing the marks of his wounds for curing the unbelief of *Thomas*. Sect. IV.

As the Manicheans did not believe Chriſt to have been born, nor to have a real body; they denyed his baptiſm, and ſome other facts related in the Goſpels. For proof of this, and likewiſe for farther ſhewing their opinion concerning our Lord's crucifixion, I ſhall here produce part of a paſſage of *Fauſtus*, which muſt be alleged hereafter upon another account more at large.

"We *(h)* reject divers other things, which "have

(f) Quapropter et nos Moyſen, —— plus tamen hinc. exſecramur, quod Chriſtum filium Dei, qui noſtrae ſalutis cauſſa pependit in ligno diro devotionis convitio laceſſivit. —— Ait enim maledictum eſſe omnem qui pendet in ligno. *Fauſt. l.* 14. *c. i. in.*

(g) —— cum Chriſtus Thomam apoſtolum dubitantem de ſe aſpernatus non ſit, ſed quo animi ejus vulneribus mederetur, corporis ſui cicatrices oſtendit. *Fauſt. l.* 16. *c.* 8.

(h) Dico autem hoc ipſum natum ex foemina turpiter, circumciſum judaice, ſacrificaſſe gentiliter, baptizatum humiliter, circumductum a diabolo per deſerta, et ab eo tentatum quam

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"have been since added to the history of Christ; "as that he was born of a woman, circum- "cised like a Jew, that he sacrificed like a "Heathen, that he debased himself so un- "worthily as to be baptised, and was then "carryed into the wilderness, and miserably "tempted of the devil. Excepting these "things, and the quotations of the Old Tes- "tament, which have been clandestinly in- "serted, we believe all the rest, and espe- "cially his mystic crucifixion, by which he "discovers to us the wounds of our soul."

These things need no answer. It would be waste of time to stay to confute what any one may presently perceive to be weak and absurd. I shall however add a word or two by way of explication.

In what is sayd of Christ's sacrificing, perhaps, he refers to our Lord's keeping the passover, and to the offering made by *Marie* for her purification. *See Luke* ii. 24.

As they payed no regard to the institutions of Moses, and denyed our Lord to be born, or to have real flesh; it is no wonder, that they excepted against the things just mentioned, and to his circumcision.

In

quam miserrime. His igitur exceptis, et —— credimus cetera, praecipue crucis ejus mysticam fixionem, qua nostrae animae passionis monstrantur vulnera. *Faust. l.* 32. *c.* 7.

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In the Acts of *Archelaus Mani* is repre-ſented *(i)* excepting againſt the account of Chriſt's baptiſm, becauſe that ordinance ſignifyed remiſſion of ſins, whereas Jeſus was free from ſin. But there is no juſt ground for that exception in the hiſtorie of our Lord's baptiſm, as recorded by the Evangeliſts.

As for their denying Chriſt's temtation, undoubtedly that is a conſequence of their ſuppoſition, that Chriſt was God, and not man.

As for the myſtic, figurative crucifixion, it is likely, that the paſſages above tranſcribed may be of uſe to enable the reader to form ſome notion of their meaning. I likewiſe refer *(k)* to *Beauſobre*.

Fauſtus does elſewhere ſpeak of a *(l)* paſſible Jeſus. And *(m)* *Secundin* has ſomewhat

(i) Manes dixit: Ergo baptiſma propter remiſſionem peccatorum datur? Archelaus dixit: Etiam. Manes dixit: Ergo peccavit Chriſtus, quia baptizatus eſt; Archelaus dixit: Abſit. *ap. Arch. c.* 50. *p.* 94.

(k) See him T. 2. *p.* 546.

(l) necnon et Spiritus Sancti, —— aëris hunc omnem ambitum ſedem fatemur ac diverſorium: cujus ex viribus ac ſpirituali profuſione, terram quoque concipientem, gignere patibilem Jeſum, qui eſt vita ac ſalus hominum, omni ſuſpenſus ex ligno. *Fauſt. l.* 20. *c.* 2.

(m) —— noli eſſe erroris lancea, qua latus percutitur Salvatoris.

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to the like purpose. But the meaning is not obvious. I apprehend, that if we had *Agapius*, or more of *Mani*'s works; we might understand this, and some other things, better than we do.

Before I quit this article, I choose to put down some observations of *Beausobre*, which may afford useful illustrations.

"The grace of the Saviour, says (*n*) he "briefly, consists in enabling the soul to un- "derstand it's nature, it's origin, it's duties, it's "hopes, and in giving it necessarie assistances "for breaking the chains of carnal passions." In other places more largely: "The (*o*) grace "of Jesus Christ has several branches: but "the principal is the giving the soul the "knowledge of it's nature and origin, which "it had in a manner lost, since it's union "with matter. Another branch is discover- "ing to the soul the snares of the devil, "the means of escaping them, and of re- "turning to it's heavenly countrey. This is "what *Fortunatus* says to *Augustin*: As (*p*) we

vatoris. Vides enim illum et in omni mundo et in omni anima crucifixum, quae anima nunquam habuit succensendi naturam. *Secundin. ad Aug. n. 3.*

(*n*) *Beauf. T. i. p.* 569. *in.*

(*o*) *T. 2. p.* 548. 549. *See also p.* 546. 547.

(*p*) Nam quia inviti peccamus, et cogimur a contraria et inimica

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" we ſin unwillingly, and are compelled by Sect. IV.
" the ſubſtance, which is adverſe and con-
" trarie to us, we endeavor to gain the
" knowledge of things. By this knowledge
" the ſoul, recovering it's firſt ideas, comes
" to underſtand it's original, and it's preſent
" miſerie. Then correcting it's paſt faults,
" and practiſing good works, it obtains re-
" conciliation with God, under the conduct
" of our Saviour, who teaches both what
" good things we ſhould do, and what evil
" things we ſhould avoid. And, as *Fortu-*
" *natus* afterwards adds: It (*q*) is clear there-
" fore, that repentance is given the ſoul,
" ſince the coming of the Saviour, and
" ſince this knowledge of things: by which
" being waſhed as in a divine fountain,
" and purifyed from the vices and defile-

U 2 " ments

inimica nobis ſubſtantia, idcirco ſequimur ſcientiam rerum. Qua ſcientia admonita anima, et memoriae priſtinae reddita, recognoſcit ex quo originem trahat, in quo malo verſetur, quibus bonis iterum emendans quod nolens paccavit, poſſit per emendationem delictorum ſuorum, bonorum operum gratia, meritum ſibi reconciliationis apud Deum collocare, auctore Salvatore noſtro, qui nos docet et bona exercere, et mala fugere. *Fortunat. Diſp.* 2. *n.* 20.

(*q*) Unde patet recte eſſe poenitentiam datam poſt adventum ſalvatoris, et poſt hanc ſcientiam rerum, qua poſſit anima, acſi divino fonte lota, de ſordibus et vitiis tam mundi totius, quam corporum in quibus eadem anima verſatur, regno Dei, unde progreſſa eſt, repraeſentari. *ib. n.* 21.

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Sect. IV.

Whether Christ's Death was a Sacrifice?

" ments of the world, which it had con-
" tracted in the bodie, it may be reſtored
" to the kingdom of God, whence it came."

XXIII. And now, ſince the Manicheans denyed, that Chriſt really ſuffered; we are led to obſerve ſtill more diſtinctly, whether they thought his death to have the nature of a ſacrifice, or what ends and uſes his ſeeming death anſwered. *Beauſobre*, who has writ their hiſtorie with great care, and nicely examined their opinions, ſpeaks to this point more than once. And his words are very remarkable.

" The Manicheans, ſays (r) he, had no
" temples, for they had no idols. —— Nor
" had they any altars, becauſe they had no
" ſacrifice, no not that, which the ancient
" church called the ſacrifice of commemo-
" ration. For they did not believe, that
" Jeſus Chriſt really ſuffered, nor conſequently
" that his death was a true ſacrifice. The
" euchariſt with them was only a ceremo-
" nie of thankſgiving in memorie of the
" myſtic crucifixion of our Saviour. That
" crucifixion, according to them, had only
" moral views."

Again,

(r) *T. 2. p. 703. 704.*

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Again, "The (*s*) Manicheans, as they "aſcribed little to faith, aſcribed a great "deal to good works, which they conſi- "dered as an eſſential and abſolutly neceſ- "ſarie condition of ſalvation. They had "not the ſame notion of the death of Chriſt, "that we have. According to us, it is an "offering made to God for the expiation "of the ſins of men: According to them, "it is only an act of ſublime virtue, the "end of (*t*) which is, on the one hand, to "teach men not to fear death, and to cru- "cify the fleſh; and on the other hand to "aſſure them of the immortality, of which "Chriſt has given them a pattern in his re- "ſurrection."

And after quoting the paſſages of *Fortunatus* tranſcribed here (*u*) not long ago, the ſame learned author ſays: "It (*x*) hence "appears, that the Manicheans aſcribed the "ſalvation of the ſoul to the doctrine of the "Saviour. They could not aſcribe it in any "manner to the virtue of his bloud, or of "his ſacrifice: foraſmuch as they did not be- "lieve, that he had bloud, or that he made "himſelf a ſacrifice. All the efficacie of

 "the

(*s*) *ibid. p.* 794. *m.*

(*t*) *See more to the ſame purpoſe, ib. p.* 546.

(*u*) *See note* (*p*) *p.* 290. *and note* (*q*) *p.* 291.

(*x*) *Beauſ. T.* 2. *p.* 549.

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" the miniſtrie of Chriſt conſiſted in the " power of his doctrine, ſupported by his " miracles." He then adds, " he cannot " certainly ſay, how they explained thoſe " texts of Scripture, which ſpeak of our " being redeemed by the *bloud of Chriſt*. " But perhaps they thereby meant his doc- " trine, an explication, which he has met " with in ſo ancient and venerable a writer, " as *(y) Clement* of *Alexandria*."

(y) Et ſanguis filii ejus mundat nos.] Doctrina quippe Domini, quae valde fortis eſt, ſanguis ejus appellata eſt. *Clem. Adumbr. in. Ep. i. Joan. p.* 1009. *ed. Pott.* Ἀγοράζει δὲ ἡμᾶς κύριος τιμίῳ αἵματι, δεσποτῶν πάλαι τῶν πικρῶν ἀπαλλάσων ἁμαρτιῶν, δι' ἃς τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας ἐκυρίευσεν ἡμῶν. *Id. in Ecl. p.* 994. *n.* 20.

SECT.

SECT. V.

Their Worſhip.

I. *It's Simplicity.* II. *Their public Worſhip: Prayers, Reading the Scriptures, with Diſcourſes.* III. *Their Baptiſm, and Euchariſt.* IV. *They obſerved the Lord's Day.* V. *And Eaſter, and Pentecoſt, and the Anniverſarie of* MANI'S *Martyrdom.* VI. *Their Diſcipline.*

Sect. V. *The Simplicity of their Worſhip.*

I. IT is now proper to take ſome notice of their worſhip.

Here a fine paſſage of *Fauſtus* offers itſelf. He is ſhewing the difference between his ſect and Heathens. "They (*a*) think, that God "is

(*a*) Item Pagani aris, delubris, ſimulachris, victimis, atque incenſo Deum colendum putant. Ego ab his in hoc quoque multum diverſus incedo, qui ipſum me, ſi modo ſim dignus, rationabile Dei templum puto. Vivum vivae majeſtatis ſimulachrum Chriſtum Filium ejus accipio: aram, mentem bonis artibus et diſciplinis imbutam. Honores quoque divinos ac ſacrificia in ſolis orationibus, et ipſis puris ac ſimplicibus, pono. *Fauſt. l.* 20. *c.* 3.

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" is to be worſhiped with altars, victims, " chapels, images, incenſe. I, if I might " be worthie, would eſteem myſelf a rea- " ſonable temple of God. Chriſt, his Son, " I receive as a living image of the living " God. His altar is my mind, cultivated " with care, and endowed with knowledge " and juſt ſentiments. The honours and " ſacrifices, which I preſent to the Deity, " are prayers, and thoſe pure and ſimple."

So *Fauſtus*. And *Beauſobre* ſuppoſeth, that *(b)* their worſhip was generally ſimple and plain, like that of a ſect that aroſe, and ſeparated from the Catholics in the third centurie, and was always perſecuted.

Their Public Worſhip.

II. They had public worſhip, where *(c)* prayers were performed, at which all were preſent, Auditors as well as Elect. For *Auguſtin*, who never entred into the higher order, was preſent at them.

Prayers.

Prayer was a religious exerciſe, in which they

(b) A l'egard de la pompe, je ne ſuis point ſurpris, qu' il n'y en eût pas dans la fête d' une ſecte, ſeparée de l'egliſe dès le iii. ſiécle, lorſque le culte étoit encore aſſez ſimple, et qui étoit perſecutée par-tout. *T. 2. p. 711. in. See him alſo, p. 700——705.*

(c) Noſti autem me non Electum veſtrum, ſed Auditorem fuiſſe. Itaque quamvis et orationi veſtrae interfuerim, ut interrogaſtis, &c. *Diſp. contr. Fortun. i. n. 3.*

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Sect. V.

they were often engaged, either publicly or privatly, both by night and by day. This may be argued from what *Auguſtin (d)* ſayd of the different points of the heavens, to which they turned themſelves in praying, whether in the day time or night ſeaſon. Not now to mention any other proofs of this.

The Scriptures read.

They read the Scriptures in their public aſſemblies. I ſuppoſe, this may be inferred from a paſſage of *Auguſtin*, where *(e)* he ſpeaks of their admiring and reading the Epiſtles of the Apoſtles: and from another place, where *(f)* he ſpeaks of their reading, commending and reſpecting the Epiſtles of the Apoſtle *Paul:* of which they gave wrong interpretations, and thereby deceived many.

Mani's Epiſtle of the Foundation *(g)* was read in their aſſemblies, as *(h)* divers pieces, beſide canonical Scripture, were often read among other ancient Chriſtians.

It

(d) See before, p. 223.

(e) Et tamen epiſtolas apoſtolorum, quibus haec omnia conteſtantur, tenetis, legitis, praedicatis. *Aug. Contr. Fauſt. l.* 12. *c.* 24.

(f) Certe et ipſi Manichaei legunt apoſtolum Paulum, et laudant et honorant, et ejus epiſtolas male interpretando multos decipiunt. *Id. de Geneſi l. i. c.* 2. *n.* 3.

(g) Ipſa enim nobis illo tempore miferis quando lecta eſt, illuminati dicebamur a vobis. *Contr. Ep. Fund. c. v. n.* 6.

(h) See Vol. i. of this work, p. 58. *&* *p.* 112.

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Sect. V.

Public Diſcourſes.

It is likely, that they alſo had diſcourſes, explaining the principles of religion, and exhorting to the practiſe of virtue. For whilſt *Auguſtin* was among them, he obſerved, that *(i)* they earneſtly warned men againſt ſenſuality, ambition, and ſuch other faults.

Baptiſm and the Euchariſt.

III. They obſerved the Chriſtian appointments of baptiſm and the euchariſt. *Felix* in his diſpute with *Auguſtin* mentions *(k)* both theſe ordinances, as uſual among them.

They practiſed infant baptiſm. This appears both from *(l) Fauſtus* and *(m) Mani* himſelf. They both ſpeak of it, as common among Chriſtians. And they ſhew their approbation of it.

They baptiſed into the name of the Father,

(i) Neque hoc eorum doctrinae tribuo: fateor enim et illos ſedulo monere, ut iſta caveantur. *De Ut. Cred. c. i. n.* 3.

(k) Si adverſarius nullus contra Deum eſt, ut quid baptizati ſumus? ut quid euchariſtia? ut quid chriſtianitas, ſi contra Deum nihil eſt? *Act. cum. Fel. c.* 19. *ap. Aug. T.* 8.

(l) Unde etiam omnis religio, et maxime Chriſtiana, ad ſacramentum rudes infantes appellat. *Fauſt. l.* 24. *cap.* 1.

(m) Qui his verbis mihi interrogandi ſunt: Si omne malum actuale eſt, antequam malum quiſpiam agat, quare accipit purificationem aquae, cum nullum malum egerit per ſe? Aut ſi necdum egit, et purificandus eſt, licet [al. liquet,] eos naturaliter malae ſtirpis pullulationem oſtendere. *Manet. Ep. ap. Aug. op. Imp. l.* 3, *c.* 187.

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ther, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, as we learn from (*n*) *Athanaſius*. Sect. V.

Jerome (*o*) ſpeaks of the Manichean baptiſm.

I only add: *Auguſtin* ſays, that (*p*) the Manicheans, in that reſpect differing from the *Pelagians*, ſay, infants have need of a Saviour on account of the corruption, which the ſin of the firſt man tranſmits unto them.

They had the euchariſt frequently, as (*q*) *Auguſtin* knew very well, though he never was preſent at it.

They communicated in both kinds. As much may be inferred from the infamous ſtorie of their euchariſt, formerly taken notice of. But, as the Elect might not drink wine, it (*r*) is doubtful, what liquor they made uſe of: whether pure water, or water with

(*n*) Οὕτω μανιχαῖοι, καὶ φρύγες, καὶ οἱ τῆ σαμοσατέως μαθηταὶ, τὰ ὀνόματα λέγοντες, οὐδὲν ἧττόν εἰσιν αἱρετικοί. *Or. 2. contr. Ar. n.* 43. *p.* 510. *E.*

(*o*) Diaconus eras, —— et a Manichaeis baptizatos recipiebas. *Hier. contr. Lucifer. T.* 4. *P.* 2. *p.* 305. *m.*

(*p*) —— quod non vult Manichaeus; ut tamen propter vitium, quod in eos per peccatum primi hominis pertranſiit, fateatur et parvulis neceſſarium ſalvatorem, quod non vult Pelagius. *Contr. duas Ep. Pelag. c.* 4. *n.* 3. *T.* 10.

(*q*) Nam et euchariſtiam audivi a vobis ſaepe quod accipiatis. Tempus autem cum me lateret, quid accipiatis, unde noſſe potui? *Contr. Fort. Diſp. i. n.* 3.

(*r*) *B. T.* 2. *p.* 721.

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Sect. V.

with raiſins, or ſomewhat elſe, ſteeped in it. *Beauſobre* is inclined to think, that (*s*) they made uſe of pure water; therein following the example of ſome other ſects, more ancient than themſelves. So it may be. I do not deny it. But I almoſt wonder, that *Beauſobre* did not here recollect what *Auguſtin* writes of the diet of the Elect, which he himſelf alſo has given a diſtinct account of (*t*) elſewhere. For, if *Auguſtin* may be relyed upon, and has been guilty of no miſrepreſentation; the (*u*) Elect, though forbid the uſe of wine, did ſometimes drink beer, cyder, and a ſort of boiled wine, or liquor reſembling wine.

In the time of Pope *Leo*, called the Great, the people of this ſect at *Rome*, the better to conceal themſelves, and avoid the ſeverity of the laws, communicated with the Catholics. They

(*s*) *ib. p.* 723.

(*t*) *ib.* 774. 775.

(*u*) ——bibat autem mulſum, caroenum paſſum, et nonnullorum pomorum expreſſos ſuccos, vini ſpeciem ſatis imitantes.—*de Mor. Manich. c.* 13. *n.* 29. Hordei quidam ſucco vinum imitantur, quod movendo fit optimum. Sane, quod minime praetereundum eſt, hoc genus potus citiſſime inebriat. Nec tamen unquam ſuccum hordei fel principum eſſe dixiſtis. *id. cap.* 16. *n.* 46. —— et caroenum quod bibitis, nihil aliud quam coctum vinum eſſe videamus. *ib. n.* 47. *Conf. c.* 13. *n.* 30.

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They (*x*) received the bread, but they avoided the cup, as much as poſſible: becauſe, as I ſuppoſe, they ſcrupled to taſt wine.

They kept the Lord's day.

IV. The Manicheans obſerved the Lord's day, but faſted upon it, Auditors as well as Elect. This is taken notice of by (*y*) *Auguſtin*, (*z*) *Ambroſe*, (*a*) *Leo*, juſt quoted. *Ebedjeſu*, cited by *Aſſeman*, gives this reaſon of that practiſe: "They (*b*) expected the coming of Chriſt "on that day." Which leads *Beauſobre* to ſay, They (*c*) then meditated upon the laſt coming of Chriſt, at the end of this inferior world,

(*x*) Cumque ad tegendam infidelitatem ſuam noſtris audent intereſſe myſteriis, ita in ſacramentorum communione ſe temperant, ut interdum tutius lateant. Ore indigno corpus Chriſti accipiunt, ſanguinem autem redemtionis noſtrae haurire omnino declinant. *Leo. Serm.* 4. *de Quadrageſima.*

(*y*) Die autem Dominico jejunare ſcandalum eſt magnum, maxime poſteaquam innotuit deteſtabilis —— haereſis Manichaeorum, qui ſuis auditoribus ad jejunandum iſtum tamquam conſtituerunt legitimum diem. *Auguſtin. Ep. ad Caſulan.* 36. *al.* 86. *n.* 27. *Vid. ib. n.* 29. Die quoque Dominico cum illis jejunant, *auditores ſcilicet. Ep.* 236. *al.* 74. *n.* 2.

(*z*) Dominica autem jejunare non poſſumus, quia Manichaeos etiam ob iſtius diei jejunium damnamus. *Ambr. Ep.* 23. *T.* 2. *p.* 883. *n. xi.*

(*a*) *Vid. Leo. Serm. iv. de Quadrag. et paſſim.*

(*b*) Manichaei reſurrectionem abnegantes contra Chriſtianos jejunium luctumque in die dominico faciunt, aientes, in iſto die fore ut hoc ſaeculum ſubeat interitum diſſolutionemque omnem poſt circulum novem millium annorum. *ap. Aſſem. Bib. Or. T.* 4. *p.* 361.

(*c*) *B. T.* 2. *p.* 709.

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Sect. V.

world, which we inhabit. Supposing, that the conflagration and dissolution of our earth would happen on a Lord's day, and not knowing which, they ever passed that day in fasting and prayer, that the Lord, when he came, might find them in the exercise of humiliation and repentance.

They kept Easter, &c.

V. The Manicheans, or however those of *Africa*, kept Easter, as we learn from *(d) Augustin:* who only blames them, that they did not keep it with sufficient solemnity.

Beausobre supposes, that (*e*) there is no good reason to doubt of their keeping the feast of Pentecost.

In the *(f)* month of March, and therefore usually about the time of Easter, they celebrated the anniversarie of the martyrdom of *Mani*, which was called *Bema*, or the Master's Chair.

VI. Their

(d) Cum saepe a vobis quaererem illo tempore quo vos audiebam, quae causa esset, quod Pascha Domini plerumque nulla, interdum a paucis tepidissima festivitate frequentaretur, —— cum vestrum Bema, id est, diem quo Manichaeus occisus est, quinque gradibus instructo tribunali, et pretiosis linteis adornato, —— magnis honoribus prosequamini? *Contr. Ep. Manich. c.* 8. *n.* 9.

(e) See T. 2. *p.* 711. *n. xi.*

(f) Illo enim mense (Martio) Bema vestrum cum magna festivitate celebratis. *Contr. Faust. l.* 18. *c.* 5. *Vid. not. (d)*

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Sect. V.

Their Diſcipline.

VI. Their eccleſiaſtical conſtitution we ſaw *(g)* formerly, in the paſſage of *Auguſtin* concerning their Elect and Auditors.

It is likely, they had alſo ſome eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, and that cenſures of their church were pronounced upon bad livers. This is ſuppoſed in a ſtorie told by *Auguſtin* of an indecence committed by ſome of the Elect, whilſt he was of that ſect. He ſays, that *(h)* he and others were offended, and expected, that the men ſhould have been excommunicated, or at leſt ſharply reproved. But, as it ſeems, little notice was taken of the matter. The excuſe they made was, that their aſſemblies were then prohibited by the laws, and therefore ſome inconvenience might happen, if their principal men were diſobliged. He

(g) See before, p. 86. 87.

(h) —— vidimus ergo in quadrivio Carthaginis, —— non unum, ſed plures quam tres Electos ſimul poſt tranſeuntes neſcio quas feminas tam petulanti geſtu adhinnire. —— Nos autem graviter commoti, graviter etiam queſti ſumus. Quis tandem hoc vindicandum, non dicam ſeperatione ab eccleſia, ſed pro magnitudine flagitii vehementi ſaltem objurgatione arbitratus eſt? Et haec erat omnis excuſatio impunitatis illorum, quod eo tempore quo conventicula eorum lege prohiberentur, ne quid laeſi proderent, metuebatur. *De Mor. Manich. c.* 19. *n.* 68. 69.

(i) Quae

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Sect. V. He argues with them, as *(i)* if an Elect would be degraded for eating the ſmalleſt bit of fleſh.

(i) Quae ergo ratio eſt, vel potius amentia, de numero Electorum hominem pellere, qui forte carnem valetudinis cauſſa, nulla cupiditate guſtaverit —— ? Ita fit ut in Electis veſtris eſſe non poſſit, qui proditus fuerit, non concupiſcendo, ſed medendo partem aliquam coenaſſe gallinae. *De Mor. Manich. cap.* 16. *n.* 51.

SECT.

SECT. VI.

The Manichean Doctrine concerning the Scriptures.

I. *A Summarie Account of their Scheme.* II. *They rejected the Old Teſtament.* III. *Their Notion of John Baptiſt.* IV. *What Books of the New Teſtament they received.* 1. *They received the New Teſtament in general, or the Goſpels, and the Epiſtles of St. Paul.* 2. *What they ſayd of St. Matthew's Goſpel.* 3. *Whether they received the Acts of the Apoſtles?* 4. *They received St. Paul's Epiſtles:* 5. *Particularly that to the Hebrews.* 6. *Of their receiving an Epiſtle to the Laodiceans.* 7. *Whether they received the Catholic Epiſtles?* 8. *And the Revelation?* 9. *Probably, they received all the canonical Scriptures of the New Teſtament.* V. *Proofs of their Reſpect for the Scriptures of the New Teſtament.* VI. *Of their Pretenſe, that*

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the Books of the New Teſtament had been corrupted and interpolated. 1. *Paſſages of ancient Catholic Authors concerning that Matter.* 2. *Paſſages of Fauſtus concerning the ſame.* VII. *Remarks upon the Paſſages of Fauſtus.* VIII. *The Manicheans vindicated from the charges of forging, and interpolating Scripture.* 1. *They did not forge a Letter aſcribed to Chriſt.* 2. *That they did not interpolate the Books of the New Teſtament.* IX. *Of the apocryphal Books, uſed by them.* 1. *Auguſtin's Definition of ſuch Books.* 2. *Proofs of their uſing apocryphal Scriptures, and what.* 3. *An Account of Leucius, a great Writer of apocryphal Books.* 1.) *His Works.* 2.) *His Opinions.* 3.) *His Time.* 4. *Remarks upon the Works of Leucius, and the apocryphal Books, uſed by the Manicheans.*

Sect. VI. WE are now come to the principal point, and perhaps as difficult as any, to ſhew, what books of Scripture the Manicheans received, and what regard they had for them.

I. *Auguſtin's*

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Sect. VI.

A Summarie of their Scheme.

I. *Auguſtin*'s general account is to this effect. "They (*a*) ſay, that the God who "delivered the law by Moſes, and ſpake in "the Hebrew Prophets, is not the true God, "but one of the princes of darkneſſe. The "Scriptures of the New Teſtament they "receive, but ſay, they are interpolated, "taking what they like, and rejecting the "reſt, and preferring to them ſome apo-"cryphal ſcriptures as containing the whole "truth."

Here are therefore four things to be obſerved by us, their rejecting the Old Teſtament; what books of the New Teſtament they received; then in what manner they received them, or what regard they had for them; and laſtly, what apocryphal books they made uſe of.

II. Concerning the Old Teſtament.

They rejected the Old Teſtament.

That the Manicheans univerſally, and all along, rejected the books of the Old Teſtament, or the Jewiſh Scriptures, is evident from

(*a*) Deum, qui legem per Moyſen dedit, et in Hebraeis prophetis locutus eſt, non eſſe verum Deum, ſed unum ex principibus tenebrarum. Ipſiuſque Teſtamenti Novi ſcripturas tamquam infalſatas ita legunt, ut quod volunt ipſi accipiant, quod nolunt rejiciant, eiſque tamquam totum verum habentes nonnullas apocryphas anteponunt. *Aug. de Haer. c.* 46.

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Sect. VI.

from the teſtimonies of almoſt all writers, who have taken any notice of this people.

It is intimated by *(b) Serapion.*

The deſign of the *(c)* third book of *Titus* of *Boſtra* was to vindicate the Old Teſtament againſt their objections.

In the Acts of *Archelaus* it is repreſented as one article of *Mani*'s doctrine, that *(d)* the Jewiſh Prophets were deceived by the princes of darkneſſe: that *(e)* the princes of darkneſſe ſpake with Moſes, and the Jewiſh Prieſts and Prophets. *Mani (f)* himſelf is there made to ſpeak to the ſame purpoſe, and to ſay, that there are ſome things true and right inſerted in the Jewiſh Scriptures, that the wrong might be received, but that nothing

(b) —— μήτε τὸν νόμον τιμῶντες. *Serap. ap. Caniſ. Ant. Lect. T. i. p.* 47. *f. Conf. p.* 54. *ſub fin.*

(c) ὁ τρίτος ὑπὲρ τῦ νόμε καὶ τῶν προφητῶν ποιεῖται λόγον, ὡς παρὰ τὸ θεῖον πάσης τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης δοθέισης. *Tit. p.* 59. *ap. Caniſ.*

(d) Περὶ δὲ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν προφητῶν ἔτως λέγει· πνεῦμα εἶναι ἀσεβείας, ἤτοι ἀνομίας τὸ σκότος, κ. λ. *ap. Arch. c.* 10. *p.* 18.

(e) Τὸν δὲ λαλήσαντα μετὰ μωσέως, καὶ τῶν ἰεδαίων, καὶ τῶν ἱερέων, τὸν ἄρχοντα λέγει εἶναι τὸ σκότος. *ib. cap. xi. p.* 20.

(f) Sed et ea quae in prophetis et in lege ſcripta ſunt ipſi [Satanae,] adſcribenda ſunt. Ipſe eſt enim qui in prophetis tunc locutus eſt —— et ſcribere pauca quaedem vera, ut per haec etiam cetera quae ſunt falſa crederentur. Unde bonum nobis eſt ex omnibus quae uſque ad Joannem ſcripta ſunt, nihil omnino ſuſcipere. *Ap. Arch. c.* 13. *p.* 25. *Vid. et p.* 26.

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nothing before *John* the Baptiſt ought to be admitted as of authority. Sect. VI.

Fauſtus, we may be ſure, does *(g)* not ſpeak with greater reverence of the God of the Jews, than other Manicheans.

He ſays moreover, that *(h)* the moral precepts of the law of Moſes were not revealed by him. For they are as old as the world, and are of perpetual obligation. They *(i)* were taught *Enoch*, *Seth*, and the other ancient Patriarchs by angels, for the good government of the world. Theſe laws Moſes inſerted in his two tables.

Epiphanius in his *Synopſis* briefly ſays, they *(k)* blaſpheme the Old Teſtament, and the God that ſpeaks therein. And in his long argument with them he often takes notice of *(l)* their diſadvantageous notion of the Old Teſtament.

(g) Placet ad ingluviem Judaeorum daemonis, (neque enim Dei,) nunc tauros, nunc arietes, cultris ſternere? *Fauſt. l.* 18. *c.* 2.

(h) —— diffamatae in gentibus, id eſt, ex quo mundi hujus creatura exiſtit. *Id. l.* 22. *c.* 2.

(i) Haec autem erant antiquitus in nationibus, ut eſt in promtu probare, olim promulgata per Enoch, et Seth, et ceteros eorum ſimiles juſtos, quibus eadem illuſtres tradiderint angeli temperandae in hominibus gratia feritatis. *Id. l.* 19. *c.* 3.

(k) Παλαιὰν διαθήκην βλασφημοῦντες, καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ λαλήσαντα θεόν. *Epiph. T. i. p.* 605.

(l) *Id. Haer.* 66. *c.* 43. *p.* 656. *c.* 70. *p.* 691. *et paſſim.*

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Sect. VI.

Hilarie (m) ſpeaks of their enmity to the Law and the Prophets.

Cyril of *Jeruſalem (n)* takes notice of the ſame thing.

In *Jerome (o)* *Mani* is frequently joyned with *Marcion*, and others, who rejected the Old Teſtament.

Auguſtin had frequent occaſion to ſpeak of this matter, and ſometimes ſays, they *(p)* preſumed to affirm, "that the law given by "Moſes was not from God, but from one "of the princes of darkneſſe." And he informs us, that *(q)* this was one of thoſe arguments,

(m) Manichaeus enim abrupti in improbanda lege et prophetis furoris. *Hil. de Trin. l.* 6. *n.* 10. *p.* 884.

(n) *Cat.* 6. *c.* 27. *p.* 104.

(o) Et contrario haeretici, Marcion et Manichaeus, et omnes qui veterem legem rabido ore dilaniant. *Hieron in Ecc. T.* 2. *p.* 778. *in.* Non quo legem juxta Manichaeum et Marcionem deſtruamus. *Id. ad Aug. Ep.* 74. *al.* 89. *p.* 624. *m.* Audiant Marcion et Manichaeus, et ceteri haeretici, qui vetus laniant inſtrumentum. *Id. in Matt. c. x. T.* 4. *P. i. p.* 33. *m.* Audi Marcion, audi Manichaee, bonae margaritae ſunt lex et prophetae, et notitia veteris teſtamenti. *Id. in Matt. c.* 13. *p.* 59. *f.* Aliud eſt damnare legem, quod Manichaeus facit, aliud legi praeferre evangelium, quae apoſtolica doctrina eſt. *Id in Dial. i. adv. Pelag. T.* 4. *p.* 503. *in.*

(p) Patriarchas prophetaſque blaſphemant. Legem per famulum Dei Moyſen datam, non a vero Deo dicunt, ſed a principe tenebrarum. *Aug. Ep.* 236. *al.* 74.

(q) Nam bene noſti, quod reprehendentes Manichaei catholicam fidem, et maxime vetus teſtamentum diſcerpentes et dilaniantes, commovent imperitos. *Id. De Util. Cred. c.* 3. *p.* 4. *T.* 8.

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arguments, in which they triumphed: and that they had too much ſucceſſe in deceiving weak people by the objections they brought againſt the Old Teſtament. *Archelaus* too intimates, that *Mani* argued upon this point with much confidence, and in a ſpecious manner, when he ſays, he *(r)* thought the devil helped him. Indeed, it is thought by ſome, that *(s)* the ancient Chriſtians were not able to defend the Old Teſtament ſo well as we have done in late times.

It would be tedious to mention all the Manichean objections. I ſhall however take notice of ſome of them.

They pretended to take offenſe at the repreſentations *(t)* given of God in the Old Teſtament, as if he had bodily parts and human paſſions; as if he was ignorant of

(r) Deinde coepit dicere plurima ex Lege, multa etiam de Evangelio, et Apoſtolo Paulo, quae ſibi videntur eſſe contraria: quae etiam cum fiducia dicens, nihil pertimeſcit. Credo, quod habeat adjutorem draconem illum, qui nobis ſemper inimicus eſt. *Arch. cap.* 40. *p.* 69.

(s) See Beauſ. T. i. p. 283. *&c.*

(t) —— nunc ignarum futuri, —— nunc ut improvidum —— nunc ut invidum et timentem, ne fi'guſtaret homo ſuus de ligno vitae in aeternum viveret; nunc alias et appetentem ſanguinis atque adipis ex omni genere ſacrificiorum —— nunc irafcentem in alienos, nunc in ſuos, nunc perimentem millia hominum ob levia quidem aut nulla commiſſa; nunc etiam comminantem, venturum ſe fore cum gladio, et parciturum nemini, non juſto non peccatori. *Fauſt. l.* 22. *c.* 4.

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some things, and envious, and cruel, and passionate.

Their objections against the first three chapters of the book of *Genesis* may be seen in (*u*) *Faustus*, and in a work of (*x*) *Augustin*, purposely writ in defense of the beginning of that book.

Faustus argues, that (*y*) they were not Jews, but Gentils: that they came directly to Christ, and not by the way of Judaism. If therefore there had been, as possibly there were, Gentil Prophets, they would be more profitable to them than the Jewish.

They say, that (*z*) whilst they were Gentils, and before they believed, the Scriptures of the Old Testament were useless, because they

(*u*) *L.* 22. *c.* 4.

(*x*) *Aug. de Genesi contra Manichaeos. libr. iii. Tom. i.*

(*y*) Porro autem nos natura Gentiles sumus, —— sub alia nati lege, —— non ante effecti Judaei, ut merito Hebraicorum sequeremur fidem, euntes ad Christianismum. —— Ita nihil, ut dixi ecclesiae Christianae Hebraeorum testimonia conferunt, quae magis constet ex Gentibus quam ex Judaeis. Sane si sunt aliqua, ut fama est, Sibyllae de Christo praesagia, aut Hermetis, quem dicunt Trismegistum, aut Orphei, aliorumque in Gentilitate vatum; haec nos aliquanto ad fidem juvare potuerunt, qui ex Gentibus efficimur Christiani, &c. *Faust. l.* 13. *c. i.*

(*z*) Hebraeorum vero testimonia nobis, etiam si sint vera, ante fidem inutilia sunt, post fidem supervacua; quia ante fidem eis credere non poteramus, nunc vero ex superfluo credimus. *Faust. l.* 13. *c. i.*

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they could then be of no authority with them: and when the goſpel was embraced, they were altogether needleſs.

They ſayd, they (*a*) were ſatisfyed with the New Teſtament, which the Jews rejected, and that very much, out of too great a regard for the Old.

They found fault with (*b*) the *Iſraelites* ſpoiling the *Egyptians* by the order of Moſes.

The appointment of ſacrifices, ſuch as thoſe in the law of Moſes, they pretended, was unworthie of God: and therefore was not from him, but from ſome evil beings. This way of arguing is aſcribed to *Mani* (*c*) in the Acts of *Archelaus*, and is alſo made uſe of by (*d*) *Fauſtus*.

It

(*a*) Quare non accipis Teſtamentum vetus? Quia et omne vas plenum ſuperfuſa non recipit, ſed effundit. —— Proinde et Judaei ex praeoccupatione Moyſeos Teſtamento veteri ſatiati, reſpuerunt novum. *Id. l.* 15. *cap. i. in.*

(*b*) Ibi vero Moſes argentum et aurum ab Ægyptiis ſumens, cum populus fugiſſet ex Ægypto. Jeſus autem nihil proximi deſiderandum praecepit. *Ap. Arch. c.* 40. *p.* 69.

(*c*) Ipſe [Satanas] eſt enim, qui in prophetis tunc locutus eſt, plurimas eis de Deo ignorantias ſuggerens, et tentationes, et concupiſcentias. Sed et devoratorem eum ſanguinis et carnis oſtendunt. Quae omnia ad eum pertinent Satanam, et ad prophetas ejus. *Ap. Arch. c.* 13. *p.* 25.

(*d*) Placet ad ingluviem Judaeorum daemonis —— nunc tauros, nunc arietes, nunc etiam hircos, ut non et homines dicam, cultris ſternere: ac propter quod idola ſumus exoſi, id nunc exercere crudelius ſub prophetis ac lege? *Fauſt. l.* 18, *c.* 2. *Vid. ſupr. not.* (*t*).

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It is eaſie to think, they (e) did not fail to expoſe the ordinance of circumciſion, as much as they were able.

They pretended, that (f) the law and the goſpel were contrarie to each other, and therefore they were not both from one and the ſame being. In the Old Teſtament men are encouraged by the hopes of riches, and other temporal bleſſings. But Jeſus Chriſt bleſſeth the poor, and declareth, that no man can be his diſciple, who forſaketh not all that he hath. This argument is put into the mouth of (g) *Mani* in the Acts of *Archelaus*. And it is with the utmoſt diſdain, that (h) *Fauſtus* ſpeaks

(e) Nam peritomen ego ut pudendam deſpui, ac, ſi non fallor, et tu. *Id. l.* 6. *c.* 1. Placet circumcidi, id eſt, pudendis inſignire pudenda, et Deum credere ſacramentis talibus delectari? *Id. l.* 18. *c.* 2.

(f) Legem Moyſi, ut breviter dicam, dicebat hic non eſſe Dei boni, ſed maligni principis, nec habere eam quicquam cognationis ad novam legem Chriſti; ſed eſſe contrariam et inimicam, alteram alteri obſiſtentem. *Arch. c.* 40. *p.* 69.

(g) Dicebat ergo, quod ibi dixerit Deus, Ego divitem et pauperem facio. Hic vero Jeſus beatos diceret pauperes. Addebat etiam, quod nemo poſſit ejus eſſe diſcipulus, niſi renunciaret omnibus quae haberet. *Id. ib.*

(h) Cur non accipis Teſtamentum vetus? Quia et ab ipſo hoc, et ex novo didicimus, aliena non concupiſcere. —— Divitias promittit, et ventris ſaturitatem, et filios et nepotes, vitamque longam, et Chananitidis regnum. —— Judaeis bona ſua habere, libens volenſque permiſi, ſolo ſcilicet evangelio, et regni coelorum ſplendida haereditate contentus. *Fauſt. l.* x. *c.* 1. Secunda vero cauſa eſt, quod tam etiam miſera ejus, et

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ſpeaks of the bleſſings promiſed in the Old Teſtament; ſuch as riches, plenty, long life, a numerous progenie, a land flowing with milk and honey. He is fully ſatisfyed with the ſpiritual bleſſings of the goſpel. Nor would he accept of ſuch good things as the law promiſeth, if offered him. Again, ſays *Fauſtus*: "Our *(i)* church is poor indeed, "but ſhe is marryed to Chriſt, who is rich. "And ſhe is contented with the eſtate of her "huſband. Nor will ſhe hold any ſtrange "correſpondence, or receive either preſents "or letters from another."

The Manicheans *(k)* took great liberties in reviling the Patriarchs and the Kings of *Iſrael* for

et corporalis, ac longe ab animae commodis haereditas eſt, ut poſt beatam illam novi Teſtamenti pollicitationem, quae coelorum mihi regnum, et vitam perpetuam repromittit, etiam ſi gratis eam mihi teſtator ſuus ingereret, faſtidirem. *Id. l. 4. c. i.*

(i) Et quia eccleſia noſtra, ſponſa Chriſti, pauperior quidem ei nupta, ſed diviti, contenta ſit bonis mariti ſui, humilium amatorum dedignatur opes. Sordent ei Teſtamenti veteris et ejus auctoris munera, famaeque ſuae cuſtos diligentiſſima, niſi ſponſi ſui non accipit literas. *Fauſt. l. 15. c. i.*

(k) —— ſoceros dormire cum nuribus, tamquam Judas; patres cum filiabus tamquam Loth; prophetas cum fornicatricibus, tamquam Oſee; maritos uxorum ſuarum noctes amatoribus vendere, tamquam Abraham; duabus germanis ſororibus unum miſeri maritum, tamquam Jacob; rectores populi, et quos maxime entheos credas, millenis et centenis volutari cum ſcortis, tamquam David et Salomon. *Fauſt. l. 32. c. 4. Vid. et l. 22. c. 3. 5. l. 12. c. 1.*

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for the practiſe of polygamie. And *(l)* they unmercifully aggravated the faults, which ſome good men of the Old Teſtament were ſurpriſed into, and miſrepreſented ſome other things. *Fauſtus* is very copious in his declamations upon theſe points.

And *Auguſtin* tells us, that *(m)* when he was young, they would come to him, and aſk: "If he thought they were righteous "men, who had more than one wife at a "time?"

Jerome informs us, that *(n)* they alleged thoſe words of our Lord in John x. 8. *All that ever came before me are thieves and robbers.* And in fact the Manichean Biſhop and author, ſo often quoted already, fails not to inſiſt *(o)* upon this text, and to apply it particularly to Moſes.

Jerome

(l) —— ac per hoc et Judaeorum patres, Abraham ſcilicet et Iſaac et Jacob —— quamquam fuerunt ipſi flagitioſiſſimi; ut fere Moſes indicat eorum pronepos, ſive quis alius hiſtoriae ejus conditor eſt, quae dicitur Geneſeos, qui eorum vitas nobis odio omni faſtidioque digniſſimas ſcripſit. *Fauſt. l.* 33. *c.* 1.

(m) —— cum a me quaererent, —— et utrum juſti exiſtimandi eſſent, qui haberent uxores multas ſimul. *Confeſſ. l.* 3. *c.* 7. *n.* 12.

(n) —— detrahens prophetis ejus, quaſi auctoritate teſtimonii evangelici, in quo Salvator ait: Omnes qui venerunt ante me fures fuerunt et latrones. *Hier. in Iſ. T.* 3. *p.* 171.

(o) Quippe cum et ipſum dicentem audirem, fures fuiſſe et latrones

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Jerome repreſents the Manicheans arguing, that *(p)* it was allowed, the law of Moſes was aboliſhed, and therefore we ought to receive the New Teſtament only.

The Catholic Chriſtians maintained the authority of the Old Teſtament, and put the Manicheans in mind of divers things contained in the New; as thoſe words of our Lord himſelf. Matth. v. 17. *I came not to deſtroy the law, but to fulfill.*

This is in the *(q)* Acts of *Archelaus*, where *Mani* by way of anſwer ſays: "Chriſt never ſpake thoſe words, for it is not true, "that he fulfilled the law, but that he de- "ſtroyed it."

Fauſtus in his work likewiſe propoſes this Catholic objection, to which he gives a variety of anſwers, weak and trifling.

They are ſuch as theſe. "This *(r)* is "related

latrones omnes qui venerunt ante ſe. Qua ſententia primum omnium video feriri Moyſen. *Fauſt. l.* 16. *c.* 2.

(p) Manichaeus nobis conſurgit repente, qui legem dicit abolitam, et ſolos novi Teſtamenti legendos libros. *Adv. Pelag. l.* 2. *T.* 4. *p.* 510. *m.*

(q) Ego audiens, dicebam eis ſermonem evangelicum, quomodo dixit Dominus noſter Jeſus Chriſtus, Non veni ſolvere legem, ſed adimplere. Ille vero ait, nequaquam eum hunc dixiſſe ſermonem: Cum enim ipſam inveniamus eum reſolviſſe legem, neceſſe eſt nos hoc potius intelligere quod fecit. *Arch. c.* 40. *p.* 69.

(r) Cur Legem non accipitis et Prophetas, cum Chriſtus eos

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Sect. VI. "related by *Matthew* only, and as spoken "by Christ in his sermon on the mount: "when he was not present, but only the "first four disciples, who attended on him "before *Matthew* was called. Of those "disciples who were present at that sermon "none have writ a Gospel, but *John*, who "says nothing of this matter. It may there-"fore be questioned, whether Jesus ever "spoke these words." He also says, that *Matthew* himself did not write this, which will be considered another time.

Then he adds, that (s) all in general are agreed, that Christ came not to fulfil the law, but to destroy it.

After

eos non se venisse solvere dixerit, sed adimplere? Quis hoc testatur dixisse Jesum? Matthaeus. Ubi dixisse? In monte. Quibus praesentibus? Petro, Andrea, Jacobo et Joanne, quatuor his tantum: ceteros enim necdum elegerat, nec ipsum Matthaeum. Ex his ergo quatuor unus, id est, Joannes, Evangelium scripsit? Ita. Alicubi hoc ipse commemorat? Nusquam. Quomodo ergo quod Joannes non testatur, qui fuit in monte, Matthaeus hoc scripsit, qui longo intervallo, postquam Jesus de monte descendit, secutus est eum? Ac per hoc de hoc ipso primo ambigitur, utrum Jesus tale aliquid dixerit, quia testis idoneus tacet, loquitur autem minus idoneus: ut interim permiserimus nobis injuriam fecisse Matthaeum, donec et ipsum probemus haec non scripsisse. —— *Faust. l.* 17. *c.* 1.

(s) Uterque enim nostrum sub hac notione Christianus est, quia Christum in destructionem legis et prophetarum venisse putavimus. *l.* 18. *c.* 1.

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After which (*t*) he comes again to the Manichean principle, of examining and judging, what is right, what not, in the Scriptures, and rejecting what does not appear agreeable to truth. And he pretends, that (*u*) if the Catholics will maintain the genuinneſſe of this text; they ought to obey all the laws of Moſes, and be no longer Chriſtians, but Jews. Sect. VI.

Finally, he ſays, let (*x*) us conſider, what law is here ſpoken of, for there are ſeveral laws. There is the law of Moſes, the law of nature, and of truth. Which laſt he ſays is ſpoken of by the Apoſtle, Rom. viii. 2. calling it *the law of the ſpirit of life.* And (*y*) there are other Prophets, beſide thoſe of the Jews. And, that (*z*) our Saviour does not

(*t*) Et tamen me quidem jam adverſus capituli hujus neceſſitudinem Manichaea fides reddidit tutum, —— *ib. c.* 3. *in.*

(*u*) Nempe cogeris aut vanae ſuperſtitioni ſuccumbere, aut capitulum profiteri falſum, aut te Chriſti negare diſcipulum. *l.* 18. *c.* 3. *f.*

(*x*) Ecce jam conſentio dictum. —— Sunt autem legum genera tria: unum quidem Hebraeorum, quod peccati et mortis Paulus appellat: aliud vero Gentium, quod naturale vocat. Tertium vero genus legis eſt veritas, quod perinde ſignificans apoſtolus dicit, Lex enim ſpiritus vitae in Chriſto Jeſu liberavit me a lege peccati et mortis. *id. l.* 19. *c.* 1. 2.

(*y*) Item Prophetae, alii ſunt Judaeorum, alii Gentium, alii veritatis. *ib. c.* 2.

(*z*) Lege ergo tripartita, et tripartitis Prophetis, de quonam eorum Jeſus dixerit, non ſatis liquet. Eſt tamen conjicere ex conſequentibus, &c. *ib. c.* 3.

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not here ſpeak of their law, appears from the things he diſcourſeth of: which are not the peculiar ordinances of the Moſaic law, but thoſe precepts, which are of eternal obligation.

The Catholics put them in mind likewiſe of John v. 46. *Had ye believed Moſes, ye would have believed me: for he wrote of me.*

To which *Fauſtus* makes divers anſwers: As *(a)* that upon ſearching the writings of Moſes he could not find any prophecies concerning Chriſt. Therefore our Lord never ſpoke in this manner, for all his words are true. And he himſelf elſewhere declares, *All who were before him were thieves and robbers*, particularly ſtriking at Moſes. Moreover upon divers occaſions, when he might have referred the Jews to Moſes and the Prophets; he only directs them to conſider his miracles, and the teſtimonie given to him from heaven by God the Father.

For

(a) Quare Moyſen non accipitis, cum Chriſtus dicat: Moyſes de me ſcripſit, et ſi crederetis Moyſi, crederetis et mihi—? Nam ego quidem ſcripturas ejus perſcrutatus, —— nullas ibidem de Chriſto prophetias inveni. —— Unde in ingenti poſitus aeſtu, ratione cogebar in alterum e duobus; ut aut falſum pronuntiarem capitulum hoc, aut mendacem Jeſum. Sed id quidem alienum pietatis erat, Deum exiſtimare mentitum. Rectius ergo viſum eſt, ſcriptoribus adſcribere falſitatem, quam veritatis auctori mendacium. &c. *Id. l.* 16. *c. i. ii.*

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For all which reaſons he pretends, he may conclude, that this paragraph is not genuine, but has been inſerted by the corrupters of Scripture, who have here ſayd what is not true. Sect. VI.

This may ſuffice for ſhewing the opinion, and the arguments of the Manicheans, concerning the Old Teſtament.

III. I ſhall only add a word or two for ſhewing what they thought of *John* the Baptiſt. *Their Notion of John Baptiſt.*

Didymus of *Alexandria* intimates, that *(b)* they did not admit his authority, reckoning him one of the Old Teſtament. And *Photius* ſays of *Agapius*, the Manichean, that *(c)* he reviled not only Moſes and the Prophets, but the fore-runner likewiſe. But in the Acts of *Archelaus Mani* is ſayd *(d)* to have ſpoken of *John* the Baptiſt as a preacher of the kingdom of heaven. *Beauſobre* therefore concludes,

(b) ὁ γὰρ δέχονται τὸν βαπτισὴν ἰωάννην, τυγχάνοντα ἕνα τῆς παλαιᾶς γραφῆς. *Didym. contr. Manich. p.* 214.

(c) Τὴν δὲ παλαιὰν γραφὴν κωμῳδεῖ, μωσέα καὶ αὐτὸν, καὶ τοὺς προφήτας, καὶ τὸν πρόδρομον. —— *Phot. cod.* 179. *p.* 404.

(d) Aiebat autem, Joannem regnum coelorum praedicare; nam et per abſciſſionem capitis ejus hoc eſſe indicatum, quod omnibus prioribus et ſuperioribus ejus abſciſſis, poſteriora ſola ſervanda ſint. *Arch. cap.* 40. *p.* 70. *Vid. ib. c.* 13. *p.* 25. 26.

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cludes, that *(e)* the Manicheans received *John*'s teſtimonie to the divine miſſion of our Saviour. And indeed *Didymus* himſelf intimates, in the place before referred to, that *(f)* they were willing to argue from ſome things ſayd by *John* the Baptiſt. Perhaps they were not all of the ſame opinion about him. Nor is it any great wonder, that men ſhould differ upon the queſtion, whether *John* the Baptiſt belonged to the Old Teſtament, or to the New.

What Books of the N. T. they received.

IV. In the next place we are to conſider, what books of the New Teſtament were received by the Manicheans. I ſhall obſerve the teſtimonies of divers authors.

They received the Goſpels, and St. Paul's Epiſtles.

1. *Serapion* having ſayd, he would not inſiſt upon matters in the Old Teſtament, adds: "Since *(g)* they reſpect the Goſpels, "my proofs ſhall be taken from them." What books of the New Teſtament he quoted in his work againſt the Manicheans, was ſhewn *(h)* formerly.

Titus

(e) Beauſ. T. i. p. 289.

(f) Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνο προφέροντο, τὸ λεχθὲν ὑπὸ τῦ βαπτις῀ ἰωάνν——ἀκουέτωσαν, ὅτι δύνανται προφέρειν ἃ ἂν μὴ παραδέχονται. *Did. ib. p.* 213. 214.

(g) Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὰ εὐαγγέλια μεμελέτηται αὐτοῖς. ἐκ τῶν εὐαγγελίων προσέχθη ὁ ἔλεγχ῀. *Serap. ap. Caniſ. T. i. p.* 54. *infr. m.*

(h) See p. 45.

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Titus of *Bostra* expressly says, "they *(i)* "receive the Gospel." Several of his passages will be more particularly cited hereafter, when we come to observe what they said of the interpolation of the Scriptures. But when *Titus* here says, *they received the Gospel*, he means, I think, the New Testament in general, because the Gospel is there opposed to the Law and the Prophets.

Epiphanius says, they *(k)* pretended that the two Testaments were contrarie to each other. He likewise says, "that *(l)* when "they reject the Old Testament; many "things may be alleged from the Gospels "and from the Apostles, to confute them." They acknowledged the New Testament therefore, both the Gospels and the Epistles of the Apostles, as of authority.

St. *Jerome*'s account in the place above referred to is, they (*m*) say, the law is abo-

 lished,

(i) Τὸ ἐυαγγέλιον παραδέχόμενοι τὸν νόμον ἐ παραδέχονται. *Tit. l.* 3. *p.* 140. *f.*

(k) Φάσκει γὰρ τὰς δύο διαθήκας ἐναντίας πρὸς ἀλλήλας. *Haer.* 66. *c.* 42. *in.*

(l) Καὶ πόσα ἔστιν εἰπεῖν διὰ τῶν ἐυαγγελίων, ἢ τῶν ἀποστόλων εἰς ἔλεγχον τῆς τὲ μάνη μανίας —— τὲ σωτῆρος ὁμολογοῦντος τὴν παλαιὰν διαθήκην, ἐ μόνον, ἀλλὰ ἢ αὐτοὶ ἀποστόλοι, *κ. λ. Id. H.* 66. *c.* 43. *m.*

(m) —— Manichaeus nobis consurgit repente, qui legem dicit abolitam, et solos Novi Testamenti legendos libros. *Adv. Pelag. l.* 2. *T.* 4. *p.* 510.

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liſhed, and that the books of the New Teſtament only are to be attended to by us.

Fauſtus often ſays, that (*n*) he receives the Goſpel, meaning thereby the doctrine taught by Jeſus Chriſt.

He ſays, that (*o*) he, as well as the Catholics, own Jeſus to be the author of the New Teſtament, or covenant.

He mentions (*p*) the four Evangeliſts, *Matthew*, *Mark*, *Luke* and *John*; without hinting, that there were any other authentic hiſtorians of Jeſus Chriſt.

He ſeems to allow, that *John* wrote the Goſpel under his name. For (*q*) mentioning *Peter* and *Andrew*, *James* and *John*, as the firſt and moſt early diſciples of Jeſus, he ſays:

(*n*) Accipis Evangelium? Et maxime. *Fauſt. l.* 2. *c.* 1. Accipis Evangelium? Tu me interrogas, utrum accipiam, in quo idipſum apparet, quia quae jubet obſervo. —— Niſi adhuc neſcis, quid ſit quod Evangelium nuncupatur. Eſt enim nihil aliud, quam praedicatio et mandatum Chriſti. *Id. l.* 5. *c.* 1.

(*o*) —— quod Novum Teſtamentum Jeſum condidiſſe utrique fatemur. *Id. l.* 18. *c.* 1.

(*p*) Sed offenſus duorum Evangeliſtarum maxime diſſenſione, qui genealogiam ejus ſcribunt, Lucae et Matthaei, haeſi incertus quemnam potiſſimum ſequerer. —— Infinita ergo eorum praetermiſſa lite, —— ad Joannem Marcumque me contuli: nec impariter a duobus ad duos, et ab Evangeliſtis ad ejuſdem nominis profeſſores. *Fauſt. l.* 3. *c. i.*

(*q*) Quibus praeſentibus? Petro, Andrea, Jacobo et Joanne. —— Ex his quatuor unus, id eſt, Joannes Evangelium ſcripſit? Ita. *Fauſt. l.* 17. *c. i.*

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ſays: "of all theſe four *John* only wrote a "Goſpel."

In the Acts of *Archelaus* it is expreſsly ſayd, "that (*r*) *Mani* argued from the Goſ-"pel, and the Apoſtle *Paul*;" that is, from the Goſpels, and from the Epiſtles of that Apoſtle.

Photius in his extracts from *Agapius* ſays, "that (*s*) he quoted many paſſages of the "divine Goſpel, and the Epiſtles of the di-"vine *Paul*."

Auguſtin ſpeaks of (*t*) their uſing the four Goſpels, and the Epiſtles of *Paul*: And frequently of their (*u*) approving, or (*x*) admitting the authority of the Goſpel, and the Apoſtle.

(*r*) Deinde coepit dicere plurima ex Lege, multa etiam de Evangelio, et Apoſtolo Paulo, quae ſibi videntur eſſe contraria. *Arch. cap.* 40. *p.* 69.

(*s*) —— ἀποσπαράσσων δὲ ῥητά τινα τῶ θεῖ εὐαγγελίυ, καὶ ἐπιςολῶν τῦ θεῖ παύλυ, πειρᾶται ςρεβλῶν αὐτὰ, καὶ πρὸς τὴν οἰκείαν δυσέβειαν ἕλκειν. *Ph. Cod.* 179. *p.* 405.

(*t*) —— Aut ſi talis oratio impudens eſt, ſicuti eſt, cur in Pauli Epiſtolis, cur in quatuor Evangelii libris ea valere aliquid putant —— ? *De Util. Cred. cap.* 3. *n.* 7.

(*u*) Nam quaero ab eis, utrum bonum ſit delectari lectione Apoſtoli, —— et utrum bonum ſit Evangelium differere? Reſpondebunt ad ſingula: Bonum eſt. *Conf. l.* 8. *c. x. p.* 24.

(*x*) Videamus, quemadmodum ipſe Dominus in Evangelio nobis praeceperit eſſe vivendum: quomodo etiam Paulus Apoſtolus. Has enim ſcripturas illi condemnare non audent. *De M. E. C. c.* 7. *n.* 13. *in.*

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Sect. VI.

Of St. Matthew's Gospel.

2. With regard to St. *Matthew*'s Gospel, *Faustus* has disputed it's genuinnesse. He is answering the Catholic argument for the authority of the Old Testament, taken from the words of our Lord in Matt. v. 17. And among other things, he says, that (y) *Matthew* did not write this. And that he is not the author of the Gospel under his name, may be concluded from what is sayd Matt. ix. 9. *And as Jesus passed forth from thence he saw a man named Matthew, sitting at the receit of custom: And he saith unto him, Follow me. And he arose, and followed him.* *Faustus* argues, that if *Matthew* were the writer, he would have sayd: *Jesus saw me, and called me, and I arose and followed him.* But, certainly this argument is unworthie of a man of learning, and consideration. The weaknesse of it is evident from many texts of the Gospels, not disputed by the Manicheans.

(y) —— ut interim permiserimus nobis injuriam feciſſe Matthaeum, donec et ipſum probemus haec non ſcripſiſſe, ſed alium neſcio quem ſub nomine ejus: quod docet et ipſa lectionis ejuſdem Matthaei obliqua narratio. Quid enim dicit? Et cum tranſiret Jeſus, vidit hominem ſedentem ad telonium, nomine Matthaeum, et vocavit eum. At ille confeſtim ſurgens, ſecutus eſt eum. Et quis ergo de ſe ipſo ſcribens, dicat, Vidit hominem, et vocavit eum, et ſecutus eſt eum: ac non potius dicat, Vidit me, et vocavit me, et ſecutus eum: niſi quia conſtat haec Matthaeum non ſcripſiſſe, ſed alium neſcio quem ſub ejus nomine? &c. *Id. l.* 17. *c.* 1.

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cheans. In John iii. 16. our Lord himſelf ſays: *God ſo loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whoſoever believeth on him might not periſh.* *John* the Evangeliſt ſpeaks of himſelf in the third perſon ſeveral times. See John xix. 26. xx. 2. xxi. 7. 20. It is a common thing for *Joſephus*, the Jewiſh hiſtorian, to (*z*) ſpeak of himſelf after the like manner. And does not every one perceive, that *Matthew* out of modeſtie might decline to ſpeak of himſelf in the firſt perſon upon that occaſion? *Auguſtin* has fully anſwered (*a*) this objection. And I have tranſcribed a part of what he ſays in the margin, for the ſatisfaction of inquiſitive readers. Sect. VI.

Not to add, what is alſo well obſerved by *Auguſtin* elſewhere, that *(b)* it is a vain imagination, to think by ſuch trifling objections to overthrow the authority of a Goſpel, ſo fully eſtabliſhed as that of St. *Matthew*.

(*z*) *Vid. Joſeph. de B. J. l.* 2. *c.* 20. *n.* 4. 5. *et paſſim.*

(*a*) Sed non uſque adeo inperitum putaverim, ut nec legerit, nec audierit, ſolere ſcriptores rerum geſtarum, cum in ſuam perſonam venerint, ita ſe contexere tamquam de alio narrant, quod de ſe narrant. *Contr. Fauſt. l.* 17. *c.* 4.

(b) —— qui etiam de Evangelico [al Evangelio,] tantae auctoritatis culmine omnibus notæ, mentiri ſic audet, ut non Matthaeum, ne apoſtolici nominis pondere comprimatur, ſed neſcio quem alium ſub Matthaei nomine velit putari ſcripſiſſe de Chriſto, quod non vult credere, et quod calumnioſa verſutia refutare conatur. *Aug. contr. Fauſt. l.* 23. *c.* 6.

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Of the Acts of the Apoſtles.

3. *Auguſtin* often intimates, that the Manicheans rejected the Acts of the Apoſtles. He ſometimes ſpeaks, as if their averſion to that book was very great, and they could ſcarce endure the mention of it. I have already cited ſeveral of his paſſages relating to this matter. To them (*) the reader is referred, and I entreat him to caſt an eye upon them, though I add here (*c*) one or two more.

In one place he may be underſtood to ſay, that (*d*) *ſome of the Manicheans reject* this book. Perhaps others may interpret the place differently. But I have accidentally obſerved, that (*e*) the compoſer of the general Index

(*) *See before, p.* 198. & 199.

(*c*). Qua poteſtate Petrus apoſtolus uſus eſt in eo libro quem iſti non accipiunt, quoniam manifeſte continet Paracleti adventum, id eſt, conſolatoris Sancti Spiritus.—— *Contr. Adim. c.* 17. *n.* 5. Quod non ſolum in Actibus Apoſtolorum canonicis, quos iſti non accipiunt, ne de adventu veri Paracleti, quem promiſit Dominus, convincantur, evidenter apparet. *Contr. Fauſt. l.* 19. *c.* 31. Deinde Paracletum ſicut promiſſum legimus in iis libris, quorum non omnia vultis accipere; ita et miſſum legimus in eo libro, quem nominare etiam formidatis. In Actibus quippe Apoſtolorum —— apertiſſime legitur miſſus die Pentecoſtes Spiritus Sanctus. *ib. l.* 32. *c.* 15.

(*d*) Nam quidem Manichaei canonicum librum, cujus titulus eſt Actus Apoſtolorum, repudiant. *Aug. ad Cæret. Ep.* 237. *al.* 253. *n. Vid. ſupra.* 199. *note* (*q*).

(*e*) See the general Index in the word *Manichaei* —— ex eis quidam Actus Apoſtolorum repudiant. 2. *Tom. Ep.* 237.

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dex in the Benedictin edition of *Auguſtin*'s works did not underſtand him to ſay, *certain people called Manicheans*, but *ſome of the Manicheans*.

And indeed I queſtion, whether the Manicheans did all, and always reject the book of the Acts, as they did the Scriptures of the Old Teſtament.

For *firſt*, I do not ſee any reaſon they had to reject the Acts any more than the Goſpels, or other books of the New Teſtament. *Auguſtin* himſelf ſays, that *(f)* in other books of the New Teſtament there are like things to thoſe in the Acts. And that as they pretended other books of the New Teſtament were interpolated, they might have ſayd the ſame of this likewiſe. That indeed, as he obſerves, would have been a groundleſs and impudent aſſertion: But if that had been what they choſe to ſay of this book, it would have

(f) Hoc enim de illo libro fecerunt, qui Actus Apoſtolorum inſcribitur. Quod eorum conſilium, cum mecum ipſe pertracto, nequeo ſatis mirari. —— Tanta enim liber iſte habet, quae ſimilia ſunt his quae accipiunt, ut magnae ſtultitiae mihi videatur, non et hunc accipere, et, ſi quid ibi eos offendit, falſum atque immiſſum dicere. Aut ſi talis oratio impudens eſt, ſicuti eſt, cur in Pauli Epiſtolis, cur in quatuor Evangelii libris ea valere aliquid putant, in quibus haud ſcio an multo plura ſint proportione, quam in illo libro eſſe potuerunt, quae a corruptoribus interjecta credi volunt? *De Ut. Cred. c.* 3. *n.* 7.

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Sect. VI. have been no more unreasonable, than their saying it of the rest. For there were not here more things contrarie to their opinions, than in the other books, which they did receive.

Secondly, I have observed, that several Greek writers of the fourth centurie, or thereabouts, in their disputes with the Manicheans, cite this book, as if it was received by them.

The Acts are quoted in the Dispute of *(g) Archelaus*.

Serapion having alleged the historie in 2 Kings xiii. 21. adds: "But *(h)* if they "pay no regard to these things, and despise "the Law; let them however hearken to "what is sayd of sick people being healed by "the very shadow of *Peter*'s body, and let "that fill them with confusion." Where he plainly refers to Acts v. 15.

Titus of *Bostra* argues with them out of the Acts. The Manicheans pretended, that the dispensation of the law was cruel and unmerciful. They excepted against *Elisha*'s cursing the children, which presently afterwards

(g) Vid. Arch. c. 34. p. 59. c. 36. p. 63.

(h) ——Εἰ δὲ μανιχαῖοι πρὸς αὐτὸν μεμψιμοιροῖεν, ἢ τὸ λεγόμενον διαδιδράσκοιεν. μήτε τὸν νόμον τιμῶντες, κἂν ἐκ τῆς παραλλήλου δυσωπεῖσθωσαν, κἂν ἡ σκιὰ πείσῃ τὴν γνώμην ἐκείνων ἀισχυνέτω· κ. λ. *Serap. p. 47. f.*

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wards were devoured by two bears: and againſt *Eliſah*'s calling for fire from heaven to conſume the captains with their men, ſent to him from the King of *Iſrael*. Whereupon *Titus* anſwers: "If *(i)* they condemn theſe "actions, as evil; what will they ſay of "*Paul*, when obſerving that *Barjeſus*, who "was with the Proconſul *Sergius Paulus*, "ſtrove to turn him from the truth, he de-"prived him of eyeſight, and ſayd: *O full* "*of all ſubtlety*, and what follows?" Acts xiii. 10. He likewiſe adds: "And *(k)* what "will they ſay of *Peter*, who when *Ana-*"*nias* and *Sapphira* brought a part only of the "price of what they had ſold, and he had "convicted them of lying, ſtruck *Ananias* "dead, and afterwards delivered *Sapphira* to "the ſame grave?" Upon theſe inſtances *Titus* proceeds to argue a great deal, without any ſuſpicion of their conteſting the credit and authority of the book, whence they are taken.

Epiphanius

(i) Καὶ ἐπειδὴ τοιάυτας αἰτίας ϗ τοιάυτας ἐπιθυμίας ἐν τάξει πονηρίας ϗ κακίας τίθενται, τί ἐροῦσι περὶ Παύλυ; ὅτις ποτὲ τὸν λεγόμενον βαρισοῦν τὸν μάγον, —— ἐπετίμησε, σέρυσιν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐφυδάτο. *Tit. contr. Manich. l.* 3. *p.* 155.

(k) Τί δὲ ἐροῦσι περὶ τὸ πέτρυ —— τὸν μὲν ἀνανίαν νεκρὸν ἔδειξε, τὴν δὲ σάπφειραν τῷ ἀυτῷ μνήματίῳ παραδέδωκεν; *Id. ib.*

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Epiphanius (l) in his argument with the Manicheans quotes the Acts of the Apoſtles ſeveral times.

Didymus of *Alexandria* likewiſe in his ſhort tract againſt them expreſsly quotes (*m*) the ſame book, for a part of the hiſtorie of St. *Stephen*.

All this ſeems ſufficient to render it probable, that the Manicheans did not always, and every where, reject the Acts of the Apoſtles. If they had ſo done, *Archelaus*, or *Serapion*, or *Titus*, or *Epiphanius*, or *Didymus*, muſt have known it, and would have taken ſome notice of it.

We have therefore *Auguſtin*'s ſingle teſtimonie alone againſt them upon this head; which can affect only the Manicheans of his time, in *Africa*, if it be valid ſo far.

I do not recollect, that *Fauſtus* has any thing, which can afford us much light. He has quoted (*n*) the tenth of the Acts. But it is not in ſuch a manner as to decide the queſtion.

(*l*) *Vid. H.* 66. *c.* 61. *p.* 674. *B. c.* 62. *p.* 675. *B. et C.*

(*m*) —— ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν ταῖς πράξεσιν τῶν ἀποστόλων γέγραπται, κ. λ. *Didym. contr. Manich. p.* 208.

(*n*) —— quemadmodum et illud, quod de Petro ſoletis adferre, tamquam idem viderit aliquando de coelo demiſſum vas, in quo eſſent omnia genera animalium et ſerpentes, *Fauſt. l.* 31. *c.* 3.

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queſtion. He may be ſuppoſed likewiſe to refer to (o) the fifteenth chapter. Sect. VI.

Upon the whole, I ſomewhat doubt, whether the Manicheans were ſo much offended at this book, as *Auguſtin* inſinuates.

If the reader thinks, it may be of any uſe for finding out the Manichean ſentiment concerning the book of the Acts; he may obſerve the teſtimonie of the Paulicians to the New Teſtament, which will be taken notice of hereafter. They are commonly reckoned a branch of this ſect. And it is ſayd, that ſome of them did not receive the Acts.

Beauſobre conſidering this matter ſays: "Nevertheleſs (p) *Auguſtin* has well obſerv-"ed, that (q) the Manicheans might have "received the book of the Acts, and yet "avoid the difficulties they would then have "been urged with, by only making the like "exceptions, which they did to evade the "teſtimonie of the Goſpels. Which, *as* "*that learned author adds,* has made me "think, that the true reaſon, why the Ma-"nicheans excluded that hiſtorie of the Apoſ-"tles from their canon was, that it had not "in

(o) De mandato vero abſtinendi a cibis communibus, viſum vobis eſt et vehementer creditum, morticina quidem et immolata eſſe ſane immunda. *l.* 32. *c.* 3.

(p) *B. T. i. p.* 293.

(q) *De Util. Cred. cap.* 3.

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" in the Eaſtern churches, from the begin-
" ing, the ſame authority with the Goſpels
" and Epiſtles." After which he refers to a well known paſſage of St. *Chryſoſtom.*

But I am rather of opinion, that this book was not always rejected by the Manicheans. And I relye upon the reaſons juſt aſſigned, without adding any thing farther.

Nor can I allow, that the Acts of the Apoſtles was not of authority from the beginning in the Eaſtern churches: For it was received by *Clement* of *Alexandria*, *Origen*, *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria*, and other Chriſtians in the Eaſt, as has been already ſhewn in this work.

They received St. Paul's Epiſtles.

4. I next obſerve what Epiſtles of Apoſtles they admitted.

Auguſtin ſpeaks of it as an undoubted, and well known thing, that the (*r*) Manicheans read, admired and commended St. *Paul*'s Epiſtles.

In another place he ſpeaks (*s*) of their having, reading, and commending, or commenting upon, the Epiſtles of the Apoſtles.

He

(*r*) Certe et ipſi Manichaei legunt apoſtolum Paulum, et laudant et honorant, et ejus epiſtolas male interpretando multos decipiunt. *De Gen. contr. Manich. l. i. c. 2. n. 3.*

(*s*) Et tamen epiſtolas Apoſtolorum, quibus haec omnia conſtantur, tenetis, legitis, praedicatis. *Contr. Fauſt. l. 12. c. 24.*

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He alſo ſpeaks *(t)* of their receiving the Goſpel, and the Canonical Epiſtles: meaning by this laſt expreſſion, as I apprehend, the Epiſtles commonly received by other Chriſtians as a part of their canon; not thoſe ſometimes called Catholic, as *(u) Beauſobre* thought. The firſt ſenſe is agreeable to *Auguſtin*'s uſe of the word in other *(x)* places.

I ſuppoſe there is no doubt but they received thirteen Epiſtles of the Apoſtle *Paul.*

Photius ſpeaking of *Agapius*, in the *(y)* paſſage above cited, ſays, he quotes paſſages of the divine Goſpel, and of the Epiſtles of the divine *Paul.*

Fauſtus (z) readily ſays, "he receives the "Apoſtle:" thereby meaning *Paul*, or the Epiſtles of that Apoſtle. And in his yet remaining work he quotes expreſsly, and by name, many of them, as well as frequently without

(t) —— ut quidquid eſt in Evangelio vel Epiſtolis canonicis, quo adjuvari haereſim ſuam putent, id eſſe a Chriſto et Apoſtolis dictum teneant atque ſuadeant. *Contr. Fauſt. l.* 22. *cap.* 15.

(u) T. i. p. 292.

(x) Qui etiam in ſcripturis canonicis Teſtamenti novi, hoc eſt in veris evangelicis et apoſtolicis literis, non accipiunt omnia, —— *ad. Ceret Ep.* 237. *al.* 253. *et paſſim.*

(y) See p. 325. *note (s).*

(z) Apoſtolum accipis? Et maxime. *Fauſt. l. xi. c. i.*

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without naming them: as *(a)* the Epiſtle to the *Romans*, the *(b)* firſt and *(c)* ſecond to the *Corinthians*, to *(d)* the *Galatians*, to *(e)* the *Epheſians*, to *(f)* the *Coloſſians*, to *(g)* *Titus*.

Of the Epiſtle to the Hebrews.

5. Let us now conſider, whether the Manicheans received the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*. There is ſome reaſon to think, they did. For there are references to it in *(h)* the Acts of *Archelaus*. *Serapion* in his book *(i)* againſt the Manicheans quotes this Epiſtle, as does *(k)* *Titus* of *Boſtra*, and *(l)* *Didymus* of *Alexandria*. *Epiphanius* in his argument with theſe people quotes this Epiſtle *(m)* ſeveral times.

(a) Aut ſi vobis ſecundum quod ad Romanos ſcribit, credere cordi eſt. *l. xi. c.* 1.

(b) *Quapropter idem rurſum* Apoſtolus ad Corinthios dicit. —— *l.* 24. *c.* 1. *fin.*

(c) Scribenſque ad Corinthios. *l. xi. c.* 1. *et paſſim.*

(d) Quippe Paulus inde Galatas arguit. *l.* 8. *c.* 1. Et ad Galatas de ſemetipſo. *l.* 24. *c.* 1.

(e) Dicit ad Epheſios. *Id. l.* 24. *c.* 1.

(f) Necnon et ad ipſos Coloſſenſes idipſum denuo dicit. *ibid.*

(g) De Gentium [lege] vero ſi quis ambigit, audiat Paulum, qui ſcribens ad Titum de Cretenſibus, dicit. *Id. l.* 19. *c.* 2.

(h) *Arch. c.* 5. *p.* 7. *c.* 43. *p.* 77.

(i) *Serap. p.* 46. *m. and ſee before, p.* 45.

(k) *Tit. l.* 3. *p.* 142. 153. *See before, p.* 51.

(l) *Did. p.* 209.

(m) *Epiph. H.* 66. *c.* 63. *in. fin. c.* 74. *p.* 695. *B. c.* 79. *p.* 701. *D.*

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times. *Auguſtin* in his book againſt *Adimantus* quotes it (*n*) together with the Epiſtle to the Romans. He alſo quotes it (*o*) in his anſwer to *Fauſtus*.

Of the Epiſtle to the Laodiceans.

6. *Timothie* of *Conſtantinople* ſays, the (*p*) Manicheans received an Epiſtle to the *Laodiceans*. But poſſibly he means the Paulicians. However, I think this (*q*) teſtimonie can be of but little value here.

Of the Catholic Epiſtles.

7. As for the Catholic Epiſtles, we cannot ſay any thing very particularly about them.

However *Epiphanius* in his confutation of them has quoted, beſide moſt other books of the New Teſtament, the (*r*) firſt, and (*s*) ſecond Epiſtles of *Peter*. *Auguſtin* in his books againſt *Fauſtus* again and again (*t*) quotes the firſt Epiſtle of *Peter*, as received

(*n*) Interpretatus Apoſtolus ſabbatum ad Hebraeos, cum dicit, *remanet igitur ſabbatiſmus populo Dei.* —— Apoſtolicam itaque interpretationem ſpiritaliter teneo. *Contr. Adim. cap.* 16. *n.* 3.

(*o*) *Contr. Fauſt. l.* 6. *c.* 9.

(*p*) ἡ πεντεκαιδεκάτη πρὸς λαοδικεῖς ἐπιστολή. *Tim. ap. Meurſ. Var. Div. p.* 117.

(*q*) Le temoignage du Prêtre Timothée, ou de ceux, qu' ont interpolé ſon ouvrage, n'eſt d' aucun poids. *Beauſ. T. i. p.* 366. Le Decret de Gelaſe, et le Formule de Timothée, ont été fort interpolez. *Id. p.* 366. 367. *not.* (ꝛ).

(*r*) *Haer.* 66. *c.* 73. *p.* 693. *D.*

(*s*) *ib. c.* 64. *p.* 678. *B. et C.*

(*t*) *Contr. F. l.* 22. *c.* 14. *et* 20.

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ceived by them. In another work againſt the Manicheans he openly quotes *(u)* the ſecond Epiſtle of *Peter*. And in his anſwer to *Fauſtus* he cites *(x)* the firſt Epiſtle of *John*, which is alſo quoted by *Mani* himſelf *(y)* in the Acts of *Archelaus*.

Of the Revelation.

8. *Auguſtin* in his work againſt *Fauſtus* quotes *(z)* words of the Revelation with others of the firſt Epiſtle to the Corinthians, as if they received the former, as well as the later. Which may lead us to think, that the Manicheans, thoſe in *Africa* at leſt, did not reject the book of the Revelation.

They received all the Books of the N. T.

9. In a word, *Auguſtin*, *Epiphanius*, and other ancient Catholic authors, who wrote againſt the Manicheans, do ſo quote all the books of the New Teſtament; that one is induced to think, they received all the Evangelical Scriptures, which other Chriſtians did. For

(*u*) Quia vero et ipſi mali angeli non a Deo mali ſunt conditi, ſed peccando facti ſunt mali, ſic Petrus in epiſtola ſua dicit: Si enim Deus angelis peccantibus non pepercit, —— [2 Pet. ii. 4.] *De Nat. Boni. cap.* 33.

(*x*) Quod etiam Joannes dicit: Filii Dei ſumus, et non apparuit, quid erimus. [1 John iii. 2.] *Contr. Fauſt. l.* 32. *c.* 18.

(*y*) *Ap. Arch. c.* 14. *p.* 26. *Vid. loc. citat. ſupra, p.* 15.

(*z*) Non ſolum enim in vetere Teſtamento ſcriptum eſt, *Quem enim diligit Deus, corripit* —— ſed etiam in novo, *Ego quem amo, arguo et caſtigo.* Apoc. iii. 19. *Contr. F. l.* 22. *c.* 14.

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For if they had not, thoſe authors would have taken notice of it. They inform us diſtinctly, that the Manicheans did not receive the Old Teſtament. If they had rejected any books of the New Teſtament, generally received, they would have mentioned it. *Auguſtin* indeed ſays, they did not receive the book of the Acts. But as he does not ſpeak of their entirely diſliking any of the reſt, it may be hence inferred, that in other reſpects their canon of the New Teſtament was much the ſame with that of the Catholics. Sect. VI.

Auguſtin once *(a)* ſpeaks of their not only rejecting ſome paſſages of the New Teſtament, but alſo of their chooſing what books they pleaſed. But the only inſtance he produceth is that of the Acts. Which confirms what has been juſt now ſayd, that the Manicheans did not reject any book of the New Teſtament, received by other Chriſtians, except the book of the Acts, if indeed they rejected that. *Auguſtin*, who ſo often ſpeaks of their not liking the Acts of the Apoſtles, muſt ſome time have joined with it other

(*a*) Qui non accipiunt omnia, ſed quod volunt, et libros eligunt quos accipiant, aliis improbatis. Sed in ſingulis quibuſque libris loca diſtinguunt, quae putant ſuis erroribus convenire. Cetera in eis pro falſis habent. Nam quidam Manichaei canonicum librum, cujus titulus eſt Actus Apoſtolorum, repudiant. *Aug. Ep.* 237. *al.* 253. *T.* 2.

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Sect. VI. books, if there had been any other disowned by them.

Their Respect for the N. T.

V. We have therefore now seen, what books of the New Testament were generally received by the Manicheans. Under the next particular we shall observe, what they sayd of the Scriptures of the New Testament being interpolated: where, it is likely, we shall more distinctly perceive, what regard they had for them. Nevertheless I would add here some things, for shewing the credit and authority, which these Scriptures had with them.

And it seems evident, that they ascribed a good degree of authority to the books of the New Testament before mentioned. This appears from passages of *Serapion*, and others above cited, and from the constant method of arguing with them by *Serapion*, *Titus*, *Epiphanius*, and all authors in general, who wrote against them. To add here only one instance from *Serapion*, who supposeth, that he fully confutes and overthrows a sentiment of theirs by arguing from the New Testament, in this manner: "The *(b)* Gospel "says, Publicans and harlots go into the "kingdom

(b) Ὅταν οὖν λέγῃ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον — ὅταν λέγῃ παῦλος. — *Serap. p. 46. infr. m.*

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" kingdom of heaven before you. And *Paul* Sect. VI.
" ſays, that *Raab* the harlot periſhed not with
" them that believed not."

Auguſtin at the begining of one of his books againſt theſe men ſays: " I *(c)* will " obſerve this method, to quote no texts, but " ſuch as they cannot except againſt; that " is, out of the New Teſtament only; and " out of that too none of thoſe texts, which " they, when hardly preſſed, are wont to " call interpolations. But I ſhall allege ſuch " things only, as they both approve and " commend."

Every one, I preſume, has obſerved in the hiſtorie, which has been given of their opinions, that they endeavored to juſtify their doctrine of two Principles, their notion of the perſon of Chriſt, and all their peculiar ſentiments, by texts of the New Teſtament. Particularly, when they reject the Old Teſtament, one of their ſtrongeſt arguments is taken from it's contrariety to the New. Therefore this laſt was received, and was of autho-

(*c*) Et ea de ſcripturis aſſumam teſtimonia, quibus eos neceſſe eſt credere, de Novo ſcilicet Teſtamento. De quo tamen nihil proferam eorum quae ſolent immiſſa eſſe dicere, cum magnis anguſtils coartantur; ſed ea dicam, quae et approbare et laudare coguntur. *De M. Ec. Cath. c. i. n.* 2.

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rity with them. The *(d)* design of the book writ by *Adimantus*, the old disciple of *Mani*, as *Augustin* informs us, was to overthrow the Old Testament, by shewing it to be contrarie to the Evangelical and Apostolical Scriptures.

Mani in his letter to *Marcellus (e)* complains, "that men, even Christians, did not "believe the Gospels." And in that same short letter he has words of the Gospels of *Matthew*, and *John*, of the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, and of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*. And in the *(f)* Dispute with *Archelaus* he quoted and argued from many passages of the Gospels, and *Paul*'s Epistles. And there are large and numerous quotations of the books of the New Testament in his letter to *(g) Menoch*, if it be genuine.

Fortunatus, the Manichean Presbyter, in his dispute with *Augustin*, quotes Philip. ii. 5. in this manner: "We *(h)* think, as the "Apostle

(d) Eodem tempore venerunt in manus meas quaedam disputationes Adimanti, —— quas conscripsit contra Legem et Prophetas, velut contraria eis Evangelica et Apostolica scripta demonstrare conatus. *Aug. Retr. l. i. c. 22. in.*

(e) Ap. Arch. cap. v. p. 6. 7. 8.

(f) ib. c. 13. *p.* 24. 25. *et passim.*

(g) Ap. Augustin. Op. Imperf. l. 3. *c.* 177. 180. 185. 186.

(h) Hoc sentimus, quod nos instruit beatus Paulus, qui dixit: *Fortunat. Disp. i. n.* 7.

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" Apoſtle directs." And ſays, " he *(i)* knows " very well, that he cannot prove his faith " to be right, unleſs he ſhews it to be agree- " able to the Scriptures."

Secundin in his letter to *Auguſtin*, though of no great length, quotes the Goſpels of *Matthew*, *Mark*, *Luke* and *John*, and the Epiſtles to the *Romans*, the *Epheſians*, and firſt to *Timothie*. And in a ſhort compaſſe he owns *(k)* a great number of facts, recorded in the Goſpels; as *Peter*'s thrice denying his Lord, the final apoſtaſie of *Judas*, the unbelief of *Thomas* after our Lord's reſurrection; Chriſt's crucifixion, the Jews preferring *Barabbas* to Jeſus at the inſtigation of the Scribes and Phariſees; that Jeſus was crowned with thorns, and had vinegar given him to drink; that his ſide was pierced, and that he was crucifyed between two thieves,

(i) Et quia nullo genere recte me credere oſtendere poſſum, niſi eamdem fidem Scripturarum auctoritate firmaverim. *Id. in Diſp. ii. n.* 20.

(k) —— ut et Petrum coegerit ſub una nocte tertio Dominum negare, et eidem reſurgenti Thomam non permiſerit credere —— et tanto paſtori Iſcariotem rapuerit; et ut ad ultimum crucis ſupplicium veniretur, in perniciem ipſius Scribas Phariſaeoſque accenderit, ut Barrabbam dimitti clamarent, et Jeſum crucifigi. —— Et tamen ne ipſo quidem crucis opprobrio potuit ſatiari. Quin immo inſaniens hinc coegit ſpinis corronari, illinc aceto potari; hinc militum lancea percuti, illinc finiſtri latronis ore blaſphemari. &c. *Secundin. ad Aug. cap.* 4.

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Sect. VI. by one of whom he was reviled. He refers alſo to *Hymeneus* and *Alexander*, and other things ſpoken of by *Paul*, 1 Tim. i.

Indeed a large part of the New Teſtament may be found quoted by *Fauſtus*, and other Manicheans, with whom *Auguſtin* was concerned, and according to our copies.

Notwithſtanding what is ſayd of their charging the Catholic Chriſtians with having interpolated the Goſpels, which will be conſidered hereafter, *Fauſtus* readily ſays, "They "(*l*) believe Chriſt's myſtic crucifixion, his "ſaving, or wholſom precepts, his parables, "and his divine diſcourſes, as related in the "Goſpels."

And in *Fauſtus* alone we find theſe following, and many other things; our (*m*) Lord's gathering diſciples gradually, and not compleating at once the number of his Apoſtles, (*n*) his conference with *Nicodemus*, the (*o*) impriſon-

(*l*) His igitur exceptis, — credimus cetera, praecipue crucis ejus myſticam fixionem,—tum praecepta ſalutaria ejus, tum parabolas, cunctumque ſermonem deificum. *Fauſt. l.* 32. *c.* 7.

(*m*) Quis hoc teſtatur dixiſſe Jeſum? Matthaeus. Ubi dixiſſe? In monte. Quibus praeſentibus? Petro, Andrea, Jacobo et Joanne, quatuor his tantum. Ceteros enim necdum elegerat, nec ipſum Matthaeum. *Id. l.* 17. *cap. i.*

(*n*) *l.* 24. *c. i.*

(*o*) Nam et in ipſo Matthaeo poſt incluſum Joannem in carcerem, tunc legitur Jeſum coepiſſe praedicare evangelium regni Dei. *l.* 2. *c. i.*

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impriſonment of *John* the Baptiſt, his (*p*) meſſage to Jeſus, and the anſwer ſent back to him; *Peter*'s (*q*) confeſſion, that Jeſus was the Chriſt, the Son of God; that (*r*) unclean ſpirits crying out owned Jeſus to be the Son of God; many (*s*) miracles of our Lord, his curing a man blind from his birth, raiſing the dead, the woman healed upon touching Chriſt's garment; the (*t*) hiſtorie of the centurion, whoſe ſervant Chriſt healed; the (*u*) eſcape of *Barabbas* at the petition of the Jews; and the penitent thief, and Chriſt's acceptance of him; *Thomas*'s (*x*) unbelief, and Chriſt's

(*p*) *l.* 5. *c.* i.

(*q*) *l.* 5. *c.* 3.

(*r*) —— quia nec ſpiritibus immundis, cum iidem Jeſum eſſe filium Dei exſerte indiſſimulanterque confiterentur, profuit ——; *l.* 16. *c.* 1.

(*s*) Nam et caecum a nativitate lumen videre natura non ſinit, quod tamen Jeſus potenter operatus videtur erga hujus generis caecos —— ? manum aridam ſanaſſe, vocem ac verbum privatis his per naturam redonaſſe; mortuis et in tabem jam reſolutis corporibus compage reddita vitalem redintegraſſe ſpiritum, quem non ad ſtuporem adducat —— ? Quae tamen omnia nos communiter facta ab eodem credimus Chriſtiani. *l.* 26. *c.* 2.

(*t*) *l.* 33. *c.* 2.

(*u*) An Barabbas latro ille inſignis, qui non ſolum in ligno ſuſpenſus minime eſt, ſed etiam Judaeorum rogatu emiſſus e carcere, magis fuit benedictus, quam ille qui cum Chriſto de cruce adſcendit in coelum ? *l.* 14. *c.* 1.

(*x*) *l.* 16. *c.* 8.

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Sect. VI. Christ's shewing him the marks of his wounds, and many other things.

Augustin having quoted the histories of the demoniacs at the tombs, and of the barren figtree, which withered at Christ's word, particularly observes, that *(y)* these were things, which they had never pretended to be interpolations.

Faustus quoting the Gospel, calls it (*z*) Scripture.

I shall here (*a*) in the margin put down a number of passages, shewing the respect, which the Manicheans had for the Apostles of Jesus, though I have before taken notice of some of them. That *(b)* the Apostle *Paul*

(y) Sed quoniam privilegio quodam vos tuemini, ut de Scripturis opprimi nequeatis, dicendo eas esse falsatas: quamquam ea quae commemoravi de arbore, et de grege porcorum, numquam a corruptoribus immissa esse dixistis. *De Mor. Manich. c.* 17. *n.* 55.

(*z*) —— ut scriptura testatur. Nam pannum, inquit, novum nemo assuit vestimento veteri, &c. *l.* 8. *c. i.*

(*a*) Ut fere Christo placet, et ejus Apostolis, et nobis profecto. *Faust. l.* 24. *cap.* 1.

Neque id temere aut praesumtive, sed a Christo discentes, et ejus Apostolis. *ibid. in fin.*

Sed quaerendum potius est, quid ipse de se, quidve apostoli sui de eodem praedicarint. *Id. l.* 19. *c.* 1.

Ecce quid Apostolus dixit, ecce quid Evangelista. *Fel. Act. l.* 2. *c.* 2, *ap. Aug. T.* 8.

(b) Non equidem crediderim apostolum Dei contraria sibi scribere potuisse, et modo hanc, modo illam de Domino nostro

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Paul ſhould contradict himſelf, or teach different doctrine at one time, or in one epiſtle, from what he had taught in another, is a thought, which *Fauſtus* rejects with indignation.

Their pretenſe, that the Books of the N. T. had been corrupted.

VI. What comes to be conſidered by us in the next place is their pretenſe, that the Scriptures of the New Teſtament were corrupted, having been interpolated by the Catholics. And therefore, as *Auguſtin* ſayd in his ſummarie account, *they took what they liked, and reject the reſt.* What has been already ſayd may be of ſome uſe to help us in underſtanding this notion of theirs. Nevertheleſs divers paſſages of ancient authors ſhould be obſerved by us, that we may the more diſtinctly perceive, how far they carryed this principle.

Paſſages of Catholic Authors.

1. Some might complain, if I did not largely tranſcribe ſo ancient a writer in this controverſie, as *Titus* of *Boſtra*: who, I think, has uſed the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of any of their adverſaries in ſpeaking of this matter. They are ſuch as theſe.

Mani, and his followers, he ſays, "for "(*c*) ſup-

tro habuiſſe ſententiam. —— Alioquin, abſit apoſtolum Dei, quod aedificavit umquam deſtruere. *Fauſt. l. xi. c. i.*

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" (*c*) supporting their doctrines, quote some " texts of Scripture, and wreſt them from " their right meaning."

" The (*d*) Old Teſtament, even the Law " and the Prophets, he aſcribes to what he " calls the evil Principle. The Goſpels and " other parts of the New Teſtament, he " ſays, are from the good Principle. But " they are not uncorrupt. For many things " of *Hyle*, or the bad Principle, are mixed " with them. For which reaſon we are to " make a diſtinction, and are to follow and " make uſe of thoſe parts only, which be- " long to what he calls the good Principle." He adds, " that (*e*) *Mani* pretends to cor- " rect the holy Scriptures, and acting here " the

(*c*) Ῥήσεις τινὰς τῶν ἁγίων γραφῶν ἐκβιαζόμενος πρὸς τὴν αὐτῆ ψευδολογίαν. *Tit. l. 3. p. 135. f.*

(*d*) Τῶν δὲ γραφῶν τὰς μὲν παλαιοτέρας ἀνατίθησι τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸ λεγομένῃ κακίᾳ, νόμον τε καὶ προφήτας· τὰ δὲ εὐαγγέλια, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης μαθήματα, παρὰ μὲν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, ὡς ὄιεται, δεδόσθαι, φησίν· ἐδὲ ταῦτα μὴν ὁ τῆς βλασφημίας εὑρετὴς διαχωρίζεται δι' ὅλα καθαρεύειν, τὸ, ὡς φησὶν, ἐναντίον θεῷ· ἐνυπάρχειν δὲ καὶ τούτοις, ὥσπερ κατά τινα μίξιν, πολλὰ τῆς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καλουμένης ὕλης· καὶ χρῆναι ταῦτα, περιελόντα μόνα καθ' ἑαυτὰ, καταλιπεῖν ἃ τῇ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ μερίδι. *ib. p. 136.*

(*e*) Οὕτω τῶν ἁγίων γραφῶν τὴν διόρθωσιν, ὡς ὄιεται, καθ' ἑαυτὸν μεταχειριζόμενος, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα τολμῶν παράκλητος εἶναι δοκεῖν, τὰ μὲν πλείονα περιγράφει, βραχέα δὲ καταλιπὼν, καὶ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης προθέντα τὰ συγγενῶν λόγων τὴν συμφωνίαν. *ib. p. 136.*

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" the assumed character of the Paraclet, he " takes away a large part of the New Testament, and leaves in it a few things only, " so spoyling all it's harmonie."

Titus says farther: " Because *(f)* they honor the name of Christ, they pretend to " honor also the Gospels. But if they did " really honor the Gospels, they would neither take away from them, nor add to " them. —— Whereas they have added to " the Gospels what they pleased, and have " taken away from them what they thought " fit: still calling it the Gospel however, " when it is not: for they have not the " body [or substance,] of the Gospel."

Presently afterwards he says, " that *(g)* " they had treated the Scriptures worse than " the Heathens. For they only rejected " them, whereas these men, pretending to " receive the Gospels, have abused, perverted and adulterated them."

More to the like purpose may be seen in *(h) Titus.*

(f) Ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τετίμηται τὸ ὄνομα ἐπ' αὐτῷ, προσποιοῦνται· δεῖ γὰρ αὐτὸς, εἴγε τὰ εὐαγγέλια ἐτίμων, μὴ περιτέμνειν τὰ εὐαγγέλια, μὴ μέρη τῶν εὐαγγελίων ἐξυφελεῖν, μὴ ἕτερα προσθῆναι —— προσγεγραφήκασι γὰρ ὅσα βεβλήνται, καὶ ἐξυφείλαντο ὅσα κεκρίκασι· καὶ λοιπὸν ὀνόματι —— καλοῦσι τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, μὴ τετηρηκότες τὸ σῶμα. *Tit. l.* 3. *p.* 139.

(g) —— οἱ δὲ εἰληφέναι δοκοῦντες, ἐνεβάτευσαν, ἐνεχώρευσαν, ἐνεκαπήλευσαν τοῖς γράμμασι. *ib. p.* 139.

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(b) Titus. But I ſuppoſe I have tranſcribed enough, to ſatisfy every one concerning the nature of the charge, which he brings againſt this people.

And there is reaſon to think, that he aggravates, and exaggerates beyond the truth. Therefore *Mill (i)* ſays judiciouſly, "they "did not alter the Goſpels: They only ſayd "of thoſe paſſages, which they did not "like, that they were additions, made long "ago by ſome corrupters of the Scriptures." And *Beauſobre (k)* has ſhewn largely, that *Titus* has in part miſrepreſented the caſe.

Jerome intimates, either *(l)* that the Manicheans curtailed the copies of the New Teſtament,

(b) Id. ib. p. 140. 141.

(i) Non quidem palam rejectis iſtis capitulis, ſed diſſimulatis, ſeu ita apud animum repudiatis; ut nihilominus cum ab eis premerentur, haud neceſſe haberent, cum Marcionitis reformare codices ſuos, ſive ex ipſis tollere quae ſibi minus probata fuerint; ſed ſufficeret dixiſſe, loca illa jam olim a corruptoribus S. textus fuiſſe inferta. —— *Mill. Proleg. n.* 726. Gemina iſtis, ipſiuſque textus depravationem objicit Manichaeis Titus. Dicit eos circumcidiſſe Evangelia. —— Verum criminatio haec quouſque valeat, et quomodo interpretanda ſit, ex ſupra dictis liquet —— non mutilantes quidem Scripturas, textumve ipſum quovis modo mutantes. *Id. n.* 761.

(k) Hiſt. de Manich. T. i. p. 302. —— 309.

(l) Marcion et Manichaeus hunc locum, in quo dicit apoſtolus, *Quae quidem ſunt allegorica*, et cetera quae ſequuntur, [Gal. iv. 24.] de codice ſuo tollere noluerunt, putantes adverſum nos relinqui. *Hier. in Gal. T.* 4. *p.* 281. *f.*

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Teſtament, or did not receive and admit the authority of every thing found in the copies generally uſed by the Catholics.

What *Photius* ſays of *Agapius* was obſerved (*m*) formerly. He does not expreſsly charge *Agapius* with pretending, that the books of the New Teſtament were interpolated.

Auguſtin often ſpeaks of this matter. Divers of his paſſages muſt be produced.

The general account, which he gives in his Retractations of what he wrote againſt *Fauſtus*, is this: "I (*n*) wrote a large work "againſt *Fauſtus*, blaſpheming the Law and "the Prophets, and their God, and the in-"carnation of Chriſt, and ſaying that the "Scriptures of the New Teſtament, by "which he is confuted, are interpolated."

He frequently ſpeaks to this purpoſe: "When (*o*) any text is alleged againſt them "from the Goſpels, which they cannot an-"ſwer, they ſay, it is interpolated." Again, "When

(*m*) *See before, p.* 325.

(*n*) Contra Fauſtum Manichaeum, blaſphemantem Legem et Prophetas, et eorum Deum, et incarnationem Chriſti; ſcripturas autem Novi Teſtamenti, quibus convincitur, falſatas eſſe dicentem, ſcripſi grande opus. *Retr. l.* 2. *c.* 7.

(*o*) Quod ſi dicunt, hoc capitulum falſum eſſe, et a corruptoribus ſcripturarum eſſe additum; (nam hoc ſolent, quando non inveniunt quid reſpondeant, dicere:) *Contr. Adim. cap.* 3. *n.* 2.

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" When *(p)* they are greatly preſſed with " the authority of the Scriptures, they cry " out: That paſſage was inſerted in the Goſ- " pel by the corrupters of Scripture." " When " *(q)* the words of Scripture are clearly againſt " them, ſo that they can find no way to " pervert them; they betake themſelves to " their common anſwer, and ſay, the paſſage " is an interpolation."

In an Epiſtle to *Ceretius*, having repreſented their opinion concerning the Old Teſtament, he adds: " And *(r)* in the Cano- " nical Scriptures of the New Teſtament, " that is, the genuine Evangelical and Apoſ- " tolical writings, they do not receive all, " but what they like. —— In every book " they mark the places, taking ſuch as they " think

(p) An forte dicturi ſunt, ſicut ſolent dicere, cum ſcripturarum eos urget auctoritas, hoc capitulum a corruptoribus ſcripturarum inſertum eſſe Evangelio? *Contr. Adim. c. 15. n. 1. m.*

(q) Hoc eſt quod paulo ante dixi, quia ubi ſic manifeſta veritate iſti praefocantur, ut obſeſſi dilucidis verbis ſanctarum ſcripturarum, exitum in eis fallaciae ſuae reperire non poſſint, id teſtimonium quod prolatum eſt, falſum eſſe reſpondent. *Contr. Fauſt. l. xi. c. 2.*

(r) Qui etiam in ſcripturis canonicis teſtamenti novi, hoc eſt, in veris Evangelicis et Apoſtolicis literis, non accipiunt omnia, ſed quod volunt. —— Sed et in ſingulis quibuſque libris loca diſtinguunt quae putant ſuis erroribus convenire, cetera in eis pro falſis habent. *Ad. Ceret. Ep. 237. al. 253.*

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"think favorable to their errours, and set-
"ing aside the rest as interpolations."

He somewhere calls this (*s*) a certain privilege of theirs, by which they endeavored to defend themselves against arguments brought from a text of Scripture.

In another place he says: "This (*t*) is "their principle. Whatever is found in the "Gospels, or in the Epistles, by which they "imagine their errour may be supported, "that they allow and maintain to have been "sayd by Christ and his Apostles. What-"ever appears contrarie to them in the same "books they make no scruple to say, with-"out shame, has been inserted by some cor-"rupters of Scripture. By which diabolical "privilege of theirs they think themselves "secure against every thing that can be al-"leged from Scripture."

(*s*) Sed quoniam privilegio quodam vos tuemini, ut de Scripturis opprimi nequeatis, dicendo eas esse falsatas. *De M. Manich. c.* 17. *n.* 55.

(*t*) An forte, quae de novo Testamento protulimus, ipsa quoque audent dicere falsa esse atque perversa, privilegio suo diabolico, ut quicquid est in Evangelio vel Epistolis canonicis, quo adjuvari haeresim suam putent, id esse a Christo et Apostolis dictum teneant atque suadeant, quicquid autem ex iisdem codicibus adversus eos sonuerit, immissum ab infalsatoribus, ore impendenti ac sacrilego non dubitent dicere? Cui furori eorum, auctoritatem omnium librorum exstinguere atque abolere conanti, jam supra —— non pauca respondi. *Contr. Faust. l.* 22. *c.* 15.

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Hence we learn, that according to them the Apoſtolical Epiſtles, as well as the Goſpels, had been corrupted.

He elſewhere ſays, "that (*u*) they receive "and approve ſome things in the books of "the New Teſtament. And that when "aſked, why they rejected and found fault "with other things in the ſame books, they "anſwered, becauſe thoſe paſſages had been "inſerted by corrupters of the Scripture."

Auguſtin intimates, that (*x*) this principle was taught by *Mani* himſelf; "to accept "whatever favored him in the New Teſ-"tament, and reject what did not."

It is found in the Acts of *Archelaus*. That (*y*) Biſhop argued in favour of the Old Teſtament from thoſe words of Chriſt, Mat. v. 17. *I came*

(*u*) Vos ſcripturas novi Teſtamenti tamquam falſatas corruptaſque pulſatis. —— Vos autem omnia quae in libris novi Teſtamenti non accipitis omnino reprehenditis, nec a Chriſto, nec ab Apoſtolis ejus dicta vel conſcripta aſſeveratis. —— Cum itaque a vobis quaeritur, quare non omnia in libris novi Teſtamenti accipitis, ſed in eis libris, in quibus approbatis aliqua, multa reſpuitis, reprehenditis, accuſatis, a corruptoribus inſerta eſſe contenditis. *Contr. Fauſt. l.* 32. *c.* 8.

(*x*) Nam ſicut te Manichaeus impiam docuit perverſitatem, ut ex Evangelio quod haereſim tuam non impedit accipias, quod autem non impedit, non accipias. *Contr. Fauſt. l.* 18. *c.* 7.

(*y*) Ego audiens, dicebam eis ſermonem evangelicum, quomodo dixit Dominus noſter Jeſus Chriſtus, *Non veni ſolvere legem, ſed implere.* Ille vero ait, nequaquam eum hoc dixiſſe ſermonem. Cum enim ipſam inveniamus eum reſolviſſe legem, neceſſe eſt nos hoc potius intelligere quod fecit. *Arch. c.* 40. *p.* 69.

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I came not to deſtroy, but to fulfil. To which *Mani* anſwers, "that Chriſt never ſpoke "thoſe words. For ſince in fact he deſtroyed "the law, we ought to conclude his diſ-"courſes agreed therewith."

The ſame thing is implyed in ſome charges (z) of *Archelaus* againſt *Mani*.

And *Fauſtus* ſpeaks of it (*a*) as the common Manichean doctrine, and (*b*) taught them by their maſter.

Paſſages of Fauſtus, concerning the interpolation of Scripture.

2. There is a long paragraph of *Fauſtus* upon this point, which I ſhall tranſcribe largely. I need not inſert it all here, becauſe there are in it many tautologies. But I ſhall endeavor to repreſent the whole of his argument in his own words.

Says this Manichean Biſhop: "If (*c*) you "receive the Goſpel, you ought to receive

(z) —— et in noſtris libris, ſicut etiam adverſus me diſputans fecit, aſſertionem ſuam proferre, quaedam in his accuſans, quaedam permutans, ſolo Chriſti nomine adjecto. *Arch. cap.* 54. *p.* 99.

(*a*) Et tamen me quidem jam adverſus capituli hujus neceſſitudinem Manichaea fides reddidit tutum, quae principio mihi non cuncta quae ex Salvatoris nomine ſcripta leguntur, paſſim credere perſuaſit. *Fauſt. l.* 18. *c.* 3.

(*b*) Quare indeficientes ego praeceptori meo refero gratias, qui me ſimiliter labentem retinuit. &c. *Id. l.* 19. *c.* 5. *in.*

(*c*) Si accipis Evangelium, credere omnia debes, quae in eodem ſcripta ſunt. Quid enim tu, quia vetus accipis teſtamentum, idcircone credis omnia paſſim, quae in eodem ſcripta

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" all things written therein. And do you, " who receive alſo the Old Teſtament, be- " lieve every thing written therein? Except- " ing the prophecies concerning the King of " the Jews, who was to come, whom you " take to be Jeſus, and ſome moral precepts, " you no more value it, than *Paul* does, who " conſiders it as dung. Why then may not " I do the like with the New Teſtament; " take what is right and conducive to my " ſalvation, and reject thoſe things, which " have been fraudulently foiſted in by your " anceſtors, and disfigure it, and ſpoyl it's " beauty and excellence?

" And *(d)* how much more allowable is " it for us to take this method, ſince it is " certain,

ſunt? Nempe ſolas indidem excerpentes prophetias, quae regem Judaeis venturum ſignificabant, quia ipſum putetis eſſe Jeſum; et pauca quaedam diſciplinae civilis praecepta communia, ut eſt, non occides, non moechaberis, cetera praetermittitis, et arbitramini, eſſe non minus atque eadem quae Paulus putavit ſtercora. Quid ergo peregrinum hoc, aut quid mirum eſt, ſi ego de teſtamento novo puriſſima quaeque legens et mea ſaluti convenientia, praetermitto quae a veſtris majoribus inducta fallaciter, et majeſtatem ipſius et gratiam decolorant? *Fauſt. l. 32. cap. i.*

(d) —— praeſertim quod nec ab ipſo ſcriptum conſtat, nec ab ejus apoſtolis, ſed longo poſt tempore a quibuſdam incerti nominis viris, qui ne ſibi non haberetur fides, ſcribentibus quae neſcirent, partim apoſtolorum, partim eorum qui apoſtolos ſecuti viderentur, ſcriptorum ſuorum frontibus indiderunt, aſſeverantes ſecundum eos ſe ſcripſiſſe quae ſcripſerunt.

Quo

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" certain, that the New Teſtament was not " writ by Chriſt himſelf, nor by his Apoſtles, " but a long while after their time, by ſome " unknown perſons; who leſt they ſhould " not be credited, when they wrote of af- " fairs they were little acquainted with, af- " fixed to their works the names of Apoſtles, " or of ſuch as were ſuppoſed to have been " their companions, and ſaying, they were " writ by them? Whereby, in my opinion, " they have greatly injured the diſciples of " Chriſt, making them the authors of books, " in which there are many errours and con- " tradictions. For is not this to abuſe the " diſciples of Jeſus, who certainly agreed, " and were all of one mind? We perceiv- " ing this, have taken the only reaſonable " method; which is to examine every thing

 " accord-

Quo magis mihi videntur injuria gravi affeciſſe diſcipulos Chriſti: quia quae diſſona iidem et repugnantia ſibi ſcriberent, ea referrent ad ipſos, et ſecundum eos haec ſcribere ſe profitentur Evangelia, quae tantis ſint referta erroribus, tantis contrarietatibus narrationum ſimul ac ſententiarum, ut nec ſibi prorſus, nec inter ſe ipſa conveniant. Quid ergo aliud eſt, quam calumniari bonos, et Chriſti diſcipulorum concordem coetum in crimen devocare diſcordiae? Quae quia nos legentes animadvertimus, cordis obtutu ſaniſſimo aequiſſimum judicavimus, utilibus acceptis ex iiſdem, id eſt, iis quae et fidem noſtram aedificent, et Chriſti Domini atque ejus Patris omnipotentis Dei propagent gloriam, cetera repudiare, quae nec ipſorum majeſtati, nec fidei noſtrae conveniant. *ib. c.* 2.

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"Whether (e) the prophets prophesyed of "Jesus, will be considered hereafter. In "the mean time I say, if Jesus, foretold in "the Old Testament, teaches that some "things in it are to be received, and many "others rejected; in like manner the Com-"forter, promised in the New Testament, "teaches us, what of it we ought to receive, "and what to reject. Of whom Jesus, "when he promised him, says in the Gos-
John xvi. 13. "pel: *He shall lead you into all truth, and "teach you all things, and bring things to "your*

(e) —— Sed an prophetae Jesum praefagiverint, postea videbimus. Interim ad haec me respondere oportet, quia si Jesus, per testamentum vetus annunciatus, nunc dijudicat et carminat, docetque pauca ejus accipienda esse, repudianda vero quam plurima; et nobis Paracletus ex novo testamento promissus perinde docet, quid accipere ex eodem debeamus, et quid repudiare: de quo ultro Jesus, cum eum promitteret, dicit in Evangelio: Ipse vos inducet in omnem veritatem, et ipse vobis annuntiabit omnia, et commemorabit vos. Quapropter liceat tantum et nobis in testamento novo per Paracletum, quantum vobis in vetere licere offenditis per Jesum: —— praesertim quod nec a Christo scriptum constat, ut diximus, nec ab ejus apostolis. *ib. c. 6.*

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" *your remembrance.* Why therefore may not
" we do the ſame with the New Teſtament,
" through the Comforter, that you do with
" the Old by Jeſus? —— eſpecially, ſince,
" as before ſayd, it was not writ by Chriſt,
" nor by his Apoſtles."

" To *(f)* conclude therefore, as you in
" the Old take only the prophecies and mo-
" ral precepts: and have rejected circumci-
" ſion, and ſacrifices, and the ſabbath, and
" it's reſt, and unleavened bread: what
" abſurdity is there, if we alſo receive in

 " the

(f) Quapropter ut vos ex vetere teſtamento ſolas admittitis prophetias, et illa quae ſuperius diximus civilia atque ad diſciplinam vitae communis pertinentia praecepta; ſuperſediſtis vero peritomen, et ſacrificia, et ſabbathum et obſervationem ejus, et azyma: quid ab re eſt, ſi et nos de teſtamento novo ſola accipientes ea, quae in honorem et laudem filii majeſtatis vel ab ipſo dicta comperimus, vel ab ejus apoſtolis, ſed jam perfectis ac fidelibus, diſſimulavimus cetera, quae aut ſimpliciter tunc et ignoranter a rudibus dicta, aut oblique et maligne ab inimicis objecta, aut impudenter a ſcriptoribus affirmata, et poſteris tradita: dico autem hoc ipſum natum ex femina turpiter, circumciſum judaice, ſacrificaſſe gentiliter, baptizatum humiliter, circumductum a diabolo per deſerta, et ab eo tentatum quam miſerrime. His igitur exceptis, et ſi quid ei ab ſcriptoribus ex teſtamento vetere falſa ſub teſtificatione injectum eſt, credimus cetera; praecipue crucis ejus myſticam fixionem, qua noſtrae animae paſſionis monſtrantur vulnera; tum praecepta ſalutaria ejus, tum parabolas, cunctumque ſermonem deificum, qui maxime duarum praeferens naturarum diſcretionem, ipſius eſſe non venit in dubium. *ib.* c. 7.

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" the New thoſe things only, which we " find to the honour of the Son, and ſayd by " himſelf, or his Apoſtles, but perfect and " fully inſtructed; and reject other things " ſayd by them, [that is, the Apoſtles;] in " their ignorance, or falſly and impudently " aſcribed to them, and ſince handed about " as theirs? I mean, that Jeſus was born of " a woman, circumciſed like a Jew; that he " ſacrificed like a heathen, was meanly bap- " tiſed, led about in the wilderneſſe, and " miſerably tempted by the Devil. Except- " ing theſe, and the quotations of the Old " Teſtament, fraudulently inſerted by thoſe " writers, we receive all the reſt; eſpecially " his myſtical crucifixion, in which are ma- " nifeſted the wounds of our own ſouls; " as alſo his ſalutarie precepts, and his pa- " rables, and all his divine diſcourſes, teach- " ing the difference of two natures, of which " there can be no doubt but they are his."

I put in the margin *(g)* another paſſage of *Fauſtus*, without tranſlating it exactly: where he

(g) Nec immerito nos ad hujuſmodi ſcripturas tam inconſonantes et varias, nunquam ſane ſine judicio ac ratione aures afferimus: ſed contemplantes omnia, et cum aliis alia conferentes, perpendimus utrum eorum quidque a Chriſto dici potuerit necne. Multa enim a majoribus veſtris eloquiis Domini noſtri inſerta verba ſunt, quae nomine ſignata ipſius cum ejus fide

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he pretends, "that there are many differences and contrarieties in the Goſpels: and "that the anceſtors of the Catholics had inſerted many things, mingling their own "words with the oracles of the Lord, which "did not agree with the doctrine taught by "him: and that the Goſpels were not writ "by Chriſt, nor his Apoſtles, but a long "while after them, by ſome unknown men, "half-jews, who were not well informed, "but put down any uncertain traditions, "which they met with: and then affixed to "their own erroneous accounts the names of "Chriſt's Apoſtles, or their companions. "From all which he concludes, that men "ought never to hear, or read the Goſpels, "without caution, trying all things by their "own reaſon and judgement, and admitting "nothing, but what after ſtrict examination "is found to be right."

Such is the ſubſtance of a paragraph in the thirty-third and laſt book of the work of *Fauſtus*,

fide non congruant: praeſertim, quia, ut jam ſaepe probatum a nobis eſt, nec ab ipſo haec ſunt, nec ab ejus apoſtolis ſcripta; ſed multo poſt eorum aſſumtionem a neſcio quibus et ipſis inter ſe non concordantibas ſemi-judaeis per famas opinioneſque comperta ſunt: qui tamen omnia eadem in apoſtolorum Domini conferentes nomina, vel eorum qui ſecuti apoſtolos viderentur, errores ac mendacia ſua ſecundum eos ſe ſcripſiſſe mentiti ſunt. *Id. l.* 33, *c.* 3.

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Sect. VI. *Fauſtus*, ſo far at leſt as it is given us by *Auguſtin*.

I refer likewiſe *(h)* in the margin to a place or two more, where he ſpeaks ſomewhat diſtinctly of this matter.

Remarks upon Fauſtus.

VII. It is fit, we ſhould now make ſome remarks upon theſe paſſages.

1. It appears hence, that *Auguſtin*'s account upon this head is juſt and right. The Manicheans, or however thoſe of *Africa*, took what they liked in the New Teſtament, and rejected what did not ſuit them. So *Fauſtus* evidently.

2. As for what *Fauſtus* ſays of the Catholics not receiving every thing in the Old Teſtament, *Auguſtin* well anſwers, that *(i)* they

(h) Vid. Fauſt. l. 18. *c.* 3. *l.* 19. *c.* 5.

(i) Nos veteris Teſtamenti ſcripturas omnes, ut dignum eſt, veras divinaſque laudamus. —— Nos ea quae nunc de libris Teſtamenti veteris non obſervamus, congruenter tamen illo tempore atque illi populo fuiſſe praecepta —— oſtendimus et docemus. *Aug. Contr. Fauſt, l.* 32. *c.* 8. *in.*

Quaecunque ſcripta ſunt in illis libris veteris Teſtamenti omnia veriſſime atque utiliſſime pro aeterna vita ſcripta eſſe laudamus, accipimus, approbamus: Sed quae in his mandata corporali operatione non obſervamus, et rectiſſime tunc mandata intelligimus, et umbras futurorum eſſe didicimus, et nunc impleri cognoſcimus. *Id. ib. c.* 14.

Hoc enim aliqua veri-ſimili ratione diceretur, ſi eſſet aliquid in veteris Teſtamenti libris, quod nos diceremus non recte dictum,

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they received every thing therein, as of divine original and appointment: and allowed, all things to be right for the time; those which they did not now follow, as well as the laws of true and real righteousnesse, by which they were still obliged. I have transcribed several passages of *Augustin* at the bottom of the page, supposing, that they will not be disagreeable to the reader.

3. The Manicheans, or however *Faustus* and his friends, denyed, that the Gospels were writ by the Apostles and Evangelists, whose names they bear. Mr. *Nye (k)* gives a different account of the sentiment of our Manichean author. But it is manifest, that *Faustus* speaks of the books of the New Testament, commonly received by Catholic Christians, or at least of the Gospels. *Beausobre (l)* is sensible of it, and speaking of this subject says, "they denyed the Gospels to "have

dictum, non divinitus jussum, non veraciter scriptum. Nihil horum dicimus, sed accipimus omnia, sive quae observamus, ut recte vivamus; sive quae non observamus, ut tamen et ipsa tunc in prophetia jussa et observata nunc jam compleri videamus. *Id. ib. cap.* 15.

(k) See Steph. Nye's Defense of the Canon of the New Testament. p. 94.——100.

(l) Nos heretiques ayant supposé, que les Evangiles n' avoint été écrits par des Apôtres, ni par des disciples des Apôtres, mais par des inconnus à dem-juifs, &c. *Beauf. Hist. de Manich. T. i. p.* 299. *See also p.* 296.

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" have been written by the ſacred authors, " whoſe names they bear: and denyed it with " ſurpriſing raſhneſſe and aſſurance."

4. Hence we perceive, what in the Goſpels the Manicheans received, and what not. They received our Lord's diſcourſes, and parables; the hiſtorie of his preaching, miracles, crucifixion, and every thing elſe, excepting ſome few things moſt evidently contrarie to their notions; as our Lord's nativity, circumciſion, and the quotations from the Old Teſtament. Some might be apt to think, they muſt have ſet aſide a very large part of the New Teſtament, as interpolated: But from this paſſage of *Fauſtus* himſelf, and from many things already alleged, it may be perceived, that (*m*) would be a wrong concluſion.

5. We ſee the ground and occaſion of the liberty they took in cenſuring the New Teſtament, particularly the Goſpels. They had certain philoſophical principles, of which they were too fond. And therefore they would rather ſay any thing, than give them up. They would not give up their particular

(*m*) His autem exceptis, et teſtimoniis ex veteri Teſtamento, quae illis inſerta ſunt literis, cetera vós, ſecundum id quod Fauſtus loquitur, fatemini accipere. *Aug. Contr. Fauſt. l. 32. cap. 19.*

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lar notions. Nor did they dare to deny the authority of Chriſt, or his Apoſtles. The only refuge left them therefore was to ſay, that the books of the New Teſtament were not writ by Apoſtles, or that they were interpolated. Perhaps it might have been ſufficient to ſay this laſt. Poſſibly that is all, which was ſayd by ſome of the ſect. But *Fauſtus* is pleaſed to ſay both, rather than preſume to contradict Chriſt, or his Apoſtles, or inſinuate, that their doctrine was in any thing wrong. *Auguſtin* has a (*n*) remark to the ſame purpoſe, handſomly expreſſed.

6. The Manichean ſcheme, as here repreſented by *Fauſtus*, is inconſiſtent, and overthrows itſelf. The Goſpels in ſome things are good authority, in others not. The Goſpels, he ſays, were not writ by Chriſt, nor his Apoſtles, nor Apoſtolical men: but by ſome unknown people, a good while after their times. Nor were thoſe writers well acquainted with the affairs, of which they have writ. And yet they are, it ſeems, good witneſſes to Chriſt's miracles, parables, divine

(*n*) Vos ergo jam dicite, quare non accipiatis omnia ex libris novi Teſtamenti? utrum quia non ſunt apoſtolorum Chriſti, an quia pravi aliquid docuerunt Apoſtoli Chriſti? Reſpondebunt, quia non ſunt apoſtolorum Chriſti. Nam illa vox altera Paganorum eſt, qui dicunt apoſtolos Chriſti non recta docuiſſe. *Contr. Fauſt. l.* 32. *c.* 16. *in.*

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vine discourses, and mystical crucifixion. *Faustus* too claims an interest in the promise of the Spirit, made by Christ; though he knows nothing of that promise, but from the Gospels. *Augustin* has well shewn the inconsistence of this scheme. "If (o) the books of "the New Testament are genuine and right, "says he, your doctrine is overthrown: And "if they are not so, but spurious and falla- "cious, your principle is in like manner "overthrown. For you have no other au- "thority to go upon."

Some may think, their principle led them to pay little regard to Scripture. And they may be apprehensive, that there was nothing in the New Testament they relyed upon, as certainly genuine, and sayd by Christ, or writ by his Apostles. But if that be the consequence of their principle, they did not see it. We must rather say therefore, that they were absurd and inconsistent. For that the Scriptures of the New Testament were in esteem and authority with them, must be apparent to all who have read the preceding part of this historie. And it is as evident, that

(o) Ita ergo aut cogimini veraces illos codices confiteri, et continuo evertent haeresim vestram: aut si fallaces eos dixeritis, eadem auctoritate Paracletum non poteritis asserere, et vos evertitis haeresim vestram. *Contr. Faust. l.* 32. *c.* 16. *in.*

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that they were well satisfyed of the genuinesse of some parts of the New Testament, though they affirmed other things to be interpolations. Otherwise those books could have been of no use. Moreover we just now observed *Faustus* to say of our Lord's divine discourses and parables: *There can be no doubt, but they are his.* They received therefore many things in the New Testament, yea the main part of it, as unquestionably genuine. These are words of *Secundin* to *Augustin*: "And *(p)* is that saying blotted "out of the Gospel, *Broad is the way that* "*leads to destruction?* or is not that text in "*Paul* genuine, *that every one must give an* "*account of himself?*"

And *Augustin* supposes, that he argues very cogently, when he reminds them, that *(q)* so far as they weaken the credit of the Scriptures, they weaken the proofs of their own particular

(p) An emendatum in Evangelio est, quod spatiosa via non ducat in interitum? An falsum in Paulo est, quod operum singuli suorum non erunt reddituri rationem? *Secundin. ad Aug. c.* 3.

(q) Unde asseritis personam vestri auctoris, vel potius deceptoris? Respondetis, Ex Evangelio vos probare. Ex quo Evangelio? quod non totum accipitis, quod falsatum esse vos dicitis. Quis ergo testem suum prius ipse dicat falsitate esse corruptum, et tunc producat ad testimonium? *Contr. Faust. l.* 32. *c.* 16. *Vid. ib. l.* 13. *c.* 4. 5.

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particular principles, built thereon. They (*r*) likewiſe hazarded even their Chriſtianity. They weaken, he tells them, and in a manner overthrow the grounds and evidences, upon which they believe in Jeſus, or would perſuade others to believe in him: ſuch as the hiſtorie of his words, and works, and the divine appearances in his favour, recorded in the Goſpels.

7. The arguments they make uſe of for ſhewing, that the Goſpels were not writ by Apoſtles, or are interpolated, are inſufficient.

They are ſuch as theſe. That there are in the Goſpels many things, which are abſurd and contrarie to reaſon. But that is falſe. Every thing in the Goſpels is right and reaſonable.

Again they ſay, that the Evangeliſts diſagree, and that there are contrarieties in the accounts of things, contained in the Goſpels: Which too is falſe, as *Auguſtin* well obſerves. If (*s*) they cannot reconcile theſe ſeveral accounts

(*r*) Vocem Patris de coelo non audiſtis, opera Chriſti, quibus de ſeipſo teſtificabatur, non vidiſtis, codices in quibus haec ſcripta ſunt, ut ſpecie Chriſtiana fallatis, velut accipitis; ne tamen contra vos legantur, infalſatos dicitis. *ib. l.* 13. *c.* 5. Sed tamen ſi Paganus in novo Teſtamento talia reprehenderet, qualia iſti reprehendunt in vetere, nonne et ipſi ea defendenda ſuſciperent? &c. *ib. l.* 22. *c.* 14.

(*s*) Vos ergo quid dicitis? Unde oſtenditis ſcripturas illas non

counts, it is for want of ſkill and attention; or, it is owing to prejudice. Again, ſays *Auguſtin:* Let (*t*) them ſtudy the Goſpels more, and let them come with a pious diſpoſition, and judge with the candour required in reading and comparing other hiſtorians, who have ſeverally writ of like matters, and all will be eaſie. Sect. VI.

As for any pretenſions to the Spirit: They gave no proofs of their having a greater intereſt in him, than other Chriſtians had. Therefore, if their reaſon and judgement failed them, as they evidently did in this matter; their whole argument is deſperate, and of no value. *Auguſtin* has ſpoke (*u*) to this particular likewiſe.

non ab apoſtolis miniſtratas? Reſpondetis, quia multa ſunt in eis et inter ſe et ſibi contraria. Omnino falſiſſimum eſt, vos non intelligitis. —— Quis enim ferat lectorem, vel auditorem, ſcripturam tantae auctoritatis facilius quam vitium ſuae tarditatis audere culpare? *Contr. Fauſt. l.* 32. *c.* 16.

(*t*) Sed contraria, inquit, inter ſe ſcripta eorum reperiuntur. Maligni malo ſtudio legitis, ſtulti non intelligitis, caeci non videtis. Quid enim magnum erat iſta diligenter inſpicere, et eorumdem ſcriptorum magnam et ſalubrem invenire congruentiam, ſi vos contentio non perverteret, et ſi pietas adjuvaret? Quis enim umquam duos hiſtoricos legens de una re ſcribentes, utrumque vel utrumlibet eorum aut fallere aut falli arbitratus eſt, ſi unus eorum dixit quod alius praetermiſit; aut ſi alter aliquid brevius complexus eſt, &c? *Contr. Fauſt. l.* 33. *c.* 7.

(*u*) An hoc dicitis vos Paracletum docuiſſe, Scripturas iſtas

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8. Their principle was arbitrarie. They ſayd, the Scriptures uſed by the Catholics were corrupted. They (*x*) ſhould then, as *Auguſtin* well obſerves, produce other copies, more correct; where were the things they allowed, and contended for as right: whilſt the other things, inſiſted on by the Catholics in arguing againſt them, were wanting. But they produced no ſuch copies, nor ever pretended to have any different from thoſe commonly uſed.

Auguſtin has very agreeably and thoroughly expoſed them upon this head in a (*y*) paſſage, which

iſtas Apoſtolorum non eſſe, ſed ſub eorum nominibus ab aliis eſſe conſcriptas? Hoc ſaltem docete, ipſum Paracletum eſſe, a quo didiciſtis haec apoſtolorum non eſſe. *Contr. Fauſt. l.* 32. *c.* 16.

(*x*) Proferendus eſt namque tibi alius codex eadem continens, et tamen incorruptus et verior, ubi ſola deſint ea quae hic immiſſa eſſe criminaris. Ut ſi, verbi cauſa, Pauli epiſtolam, quae ad Romanos eſt, corruptam eſſe contendis, aliam proferas incorruptam, vel alium codicem potius, in quo ejuſdem Apoſtoli eadem epiſtola ſincera et incorrupta ſit. Non faciam, inquis, ne ipſe corrupiſſe credar. Hoc enim ſoletis, dicere. Et verum dicitis. &c. *De Mor. Ec. Cath. cap.* 29. *n.* 61.

(*y*) Aliud eſt ergo auctoritate aliquorum vel librorum vel hominum non teneri, et aliud eſt dicere, Iſte quidem vir ſanctus omnia vera ſcripſit, et iſta epiſtola ipſius eſt, ſed in ea ipſa hoc ejus eſt, hoc non eſt ejus. Ubi cum ex adverſo audieris, Proba; non confugies ad exempla veriora, vel plurium codicum, vel antiquorum, vel linguae praecedentis, unde hoc in aliam linguam interpretatum eſt: ſed dicas, Inde probo hoc illius

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which I tranſcribe in his own words at the bottom of the page. Sect. VI.

9. That the ſeveral books of the New Teſtament were writ by Apoſtles, or Apoſtolical men, that is, by the perſons, whoſe names they bear, is evident from the teſtimonie of all Chriſtians in general, who lived before the time of *Fauſtus* and *Mani*.

10. The charge againſt the Catholics is falſe and groundleſs. Neither they, nor their anceſtors, had corrupted and interpolated the Scriptures of the New Teſtament. Some faults may have creeped into them. And leſſer differences there will be in copies of books often tranſcribed. But no conſiderable alterations could be made in writings ſo much valued, ſo well known, in the hands of ſo many perſons, preſerved in their original language, and tranſlated likewiſe into many other languages.

On theſe two laſt obſervations, which contain the main anſwer to all the Manichean pretenſes and objections, relating to the books of the New Teſtament, *Auguſtin* has inſiſted largely, and admirably, in his confutations of the Manicheans, and elſewhere. I am

 ſure,

illius eſſe, illud non eſſe, quia hoc pro me ſonat, illud contra me. Tu es ergo regula veritatis? &c. *Contr. Fauſt. l. xi. c. 2.*

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ſure, my readers will be pleaſed to ſee what he has ſayd. And therefore I intend to tranſcribe ſeveral of his paſſages.

1.) In a letter to *Jerome*, *Auguſtin* writes to this purpoſe: "The (x) Manicheans pretend, that many paſſages of the Divine Scriptures, by which their impious opinions are clearly confuted, and which therefore they cannot wreſt to their purpoſe, are not right: which wrong things however they do not aſcribe to the Apoſtles, but to ſome unknown corrupters of the ſame Scriptures. But ſince they cannot juſtify themſelves by the more numerous, nor more ancient copies, nor by the authority of the original language, from which the *Latin* copies have been tranſlated, their fooliſh aſſertion is eaſily confuted."

2.) In his book to his friend *Honoratus* *Auguſtin* obſerves: "Their (a) opinion is, that

(x) Manichaei plurima divinarum ſcripturarum, quibus eorum nefarius error clariſſima ſententiarum perſpicuitate convincitur, quia in alium ſenſum detorquere non poſſunt, falſa eſſe contendunt: ita tamen ut eam falſitatem non ſcribentibus apoſtolis tribuant, ſed neſcio quibus codicum corruptoribus. Quod tamen quia nec pluribus, nec antiquioribus exemplaribus, nec praecedentis linguae auctoritate, unde Latini libri interpretati ſunt, probare aliquando potuerunt, notiſſima omnibus veritate ſuperati confuſique diſcedunt. *Aug. Ep.* 82. [*al.* 19.] *n.* 6.

(a) Volunt enim neſcio quos corruptores divinorum librorum

" that ſome unknown men, who were de-
" ſirous to mix the law with the goſpel, had
" interpolated the Scriptures of the New Teſ-
" tament, before the time of *Mani*. But,
" ſays he, this opinion of theirs always ap-
" peared to me extremely abſurd and un-
" reaſonable. It appeared ſo to me, when
" I was among them, and not to me only,
" but to you, and to others alſo, who had
" any good degree of underſtanding. But I
" am now ſtill more perſuaded of the egre-
" gious follie of ſuch an opinion, ſince they
" cannot make it out by the difference of
" the copies of Scripture."

3.) In another place *Auguſtin* ſays, " the
" *(b)* books of Scripture could not be cor-

 " rupted

rum ante ipſius Manichaei tempora fuiſſe: corrupiſſe autem illos, qui Judaeorum legem evangelio miſcere cupiebant. *De Ut. Cred. c.* 3. *n.* 7. *ſub. f.* Quae vox mihi ſemper quidem, etiam cum eos audirem, invalidiſſima viſa eſt: nec mihi ſoli, ſed etiam tibi, (nam bene memini,) et nobis omnibus, qui paulo majorem diligentiam in judicando habere conabamur, quam turba credentium. Nunc vero —— nihil mihi videtur ab eis impudentius dici, vel ut mitius loquar, incurioſius et imbecillius, quam ſcripturas divinas eſſe corruptas: cum id nullis in tam recenti memoria exſtantibus exemplaribus poſſint convincere. *ib. n.* 7. *init.*

(b) —— quid faceretis, dicite mihi, niſi clamaretis, nullo modo vos potuiſſe falſare codices, qui jam in manibus eſſent omnium Chriſtianorum? Quia mox ut facere coepiſſetis, vetuſtiorum exemplarium veritate convinceremini. Qua igitur cauſa a vobis corrumpi non poſſent, hac cauſa a nemine potuerunt.

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Sect. VI. "rupted. If such an attempt had been made "by any one, his design would have been "prevented and defeated. His alterations "would have been immediatly detected by "many and more ancient copies. The dif- "culty of succeding in such an attempt is "apparent hence, that the Scriptures were "early translated into divers languages, and "copies of them were numerous. The "alterations, which any one attempted to "make, would have been soon perceived; "just even as now, says he, in fact, lesser "faults in some copies are amended by "comparing ancient copies, or those of the "original language."

4.) And soon afterwards he says: "Ac- "cording (*c*) to your way of proceeding, the "authority

tuerunt. Quisquis enim hoc primitus ausus esset, multorum codicum vetustiorum collatione confutaretur: maxime, quia non una lingua sed multis eadem scriptura contineretur. Nam etiamnum nonnullae codicum mendositates vel de antiquioribus, vel de lingua praecedente emendantur. *Contr. Faust. l.* 32. *c.* 16. *f.*

(*c*) Videtis ergo id vos agere, ut omnis de medio Scripturarum auferatur auctoritas, et suus cujque animus auctor sit, quid in quaque Scriptura probet, quid improbet, id est, ut non auctoritati Scripturarum subjiciatur ad fidem, sed sibi Scripturas ipse subjiciat: non ut ideo illi placeat aliquid, quia hoc in sublimi auctoritate scriptum legitur; sed ideo recte scriptum videatur, quia hoc illi placuit. Quo te committis, anima misera —— ? *Contr. Faust. l.* 32. *c.* 19.

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" authority of Scripture is quite deſtroyed. Sect. VI.
" And every one's fanſie is to determine, what
" in the Scriptures ought to be received,
" what not. He does not admit it, becauſe
" it is found in writings of ſo great credit
" and authority: but it is rightly written,
" becauſe it is agreeable to his judgement.
" Into what confuſion and uncertainty muſt
" men be brought by ſuch a principle!"

5.) In a paſſage, which *(d)* I place at the bottom of the page, *Auguſtin* ſhews admirably, that by their way of reaſoning the credit of all ſorts of writings, the moſt authentic, the beſt atteſted, the moſt generally received, is weakened, and even reduced to nothing.

6.) Again: " If, ſays (*e*) he, you receive

 " abun-

(d) Quid hoc loco poteſt dicere impudentiſſima pertinacia? Non hoc Chriſtum dixiſſe? At in Evangelio verba ejus iſta conſcripta ſunt. Falſum eſſe ſcriptum? Quid hoc ſacrilegio magis impium reperiri poteſt? quid iſta voce impudentius? quid audacius? quid ſceleratius? Simulachrorum cultores, qui Chriſti etiam nomen oderunt, numquam hoc adverſus Scripturas illas auſi ſunt dicere. Conſequetur namque omnium literarum ſumma perverſio, et omnium qui memoriae mandati ſunt librorum abolitio; ſi quod tanta populorum religione roboratum eſt, tanta hominum et temporum conſenſione firmatum, in hanc dubitationem inducitur, ut ne hiſtoriae quidem vulgaris fidem poſſit gravitatemque obtinere. *De Mor. Ecc. Cath. c.* 29. *n.* 60.

(e) Plane, inquis, Manichaeus me docuit. Sed infelix, credidiſti,

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" abundance of fabulous things upon the " authority of *Mani*, becauſe found in his " writings, though there is no demonſtra- " tion of the truth, and his authority is very " obſcure: is it not much more reaſonable " to believe the things contained in the Scrip- " tures of the New Teſtament, which are " ſo well known, and have been tranſmitted " down from the time of the Apoſtles, with " an univerſal, uninterrupted tradition? And " if the things therein delivered are con- " trarie to your ſentiments, you ſhould con- " clude your ſentiments to be wrong, and " ſhould correct them by the Scriptures."

7.) *Auguſtin* argues likewiſe in this manner: " If *(f)* you here aſk us, how we know " theſe

credidiſti, neque enim vidiſti. Si ergo ad millia fabuloſorum phantaſmatum, quibus turpiter gravidata es, te auctoritati ignotiſſimae —— ſubdidiſti, ut ideo haec omnia crederes, quia in illis conſcripta ſunt libris, quibus miſerabili errore credendum eſſe cenſuiſti, cum tibi nulla demonſtrentur; cur non potius Evangelicae auctoritati, tam fundatae, tam ſtabilitae, tanta gloria diffamatae, atque ab Apoſtolorum temporibus uſque ad noſtra tempora per ſucceſſiones certiſſimas commendatae; non te ſubdis, ut credas, ut videas, ut diſcas etiam omnia quae te offendunt, ex vana et perverſa opinione te offendere. *Contr. Fauſt. l.* 32. *c.* 19.

(f) Hic jam ſi quaeratis a nobis, nos unde ſciamus Apoſtolorum eſſe iſtas literas: breviter vobis reſpondemus, inde nos ſcire, unde et vos ſcitis illas literas eſſe Manichaei, quas miſerabiliter huic auctoritati praeponitis. Si enim et hinc vobis

" theſe to be the writings of the Apoſtles: Sect. VI.
" in brief we anſwer, in the ſame way that
" you know the epiſtles, or any other writ-
" ings of *Mani*, to be his. For if any one
" ſhould be pleaſed to diſpute with you,
" and offer to deny the epiſtles aſcribed to
" *Mani* to be his, what would you do?
" Would you not laugh at the aſſurance of
" the man, who denyed the genuinneſſe of
" writings generally allowed? As therefore
" it is certain, thoſe books are *Mani*'s: and
" he would be ridiculous, who ſhould now
" diſpute it: ſo certain is it, that the Mani-
" cheans deſerve to be laughed at, or rather
" ought to be pityed, who diſpute the truth
" and genuinneſſe of thoſe writings of the
" Apoſtles, which have been handed down
" as theirs from their time to this, through
" an uninterrupted ſucceſſion of well known
" witneſſes." 8.) *Auguſtin*

bis aliquis moveat quaeſtionem, et ſcrupulum contradictionis impingat, dicens, libros quos profertis Manichaei, non eſſe Manichaei, quid facturi eſtis? Nonne potius ejus deliramenta ridebitis, qui contra rem tanta connexionis et ſucceſſionis ſerie confirmatam, impudentiam hujus vocis emittat? Sicut ergo certum eſt, illos libros eſſe Manichaei, et omnino ridendus eſt, qui ex tranſverſo veniens tanto poſt natus litem vobis hujus contradictionis intenderit; ita certum eſt, Manichaeum, vel Manichaeos eſſe ridendos, aut etiam dolendos, qui tam fundatae auctoritati, a temporibus Apoſtolorum uſque ad haec tempora certis ſucceſſionibus cuſtoditae atque perductae, audeant tale aliquid dicere. *ib. cap.* 21.

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8.) *Auguſtin* ſays farther, "that (g) following their principle, there muſt be an "end to all authority and certainty in all "writings whatever. For no writings ever "had

(g) Infelices inimici animae veſtrae, quae umquam literae ullum habebunt pondus auctoritatis, ſi Evangelicae, ſi Apoſtolicae non habebunt? De quo libro certum erit cujus ſit, ſi literae quas Apoſtolorum dicit et tenet eccleſia ab ipſis Apoſtolis propagata et per omnes gentes tanta eminentia declarata, utrum Apoſtolorum ſint, incertum eſt —— ? Quaſi vero et in literis ſaecularibus non fuerunt certiſſimi auctores, ſub quorum nominibus poſtea multa prolata ſunt, et ideo repudiata, quia vel his quae ipſorum eſſe conſtaret minime congruerunt, vel eo tempore quo illi ſcripſerint, nequaquam innoteſcere, et per ipſos vel familiariſſimos eorum in poſteros prodi commendarique meruerunt. —— Hos autem libros, quibus illi qui de tranſverſo proferuntur comparati reſpuuntur, unde conſtat eſſe Hippocratis? —— niſi quia ſic eos ab ipſo Hippocratis tempore uſque ad hoc tempus et deinceps ſucceſſionis ſeries commendavit, ut hinc dubitare dementis ſit? Platonis, Ariſtotelis, Ciceronis, Varronis, aliorumque ejuſmodi auctorum libros, unde noverunt homines, quod ipſorum ſint, niſi eadem temporum ſibi ſuccedentium conteſtatione continua? Multi multa de literis eccleſiaſticis conſcripſerunt, non quidem auctoritate canonica, ſed aliquo adjuvandi ſtudio, ſive diſcendi. Unde conſtat quid cujus ſit, niſi quia his temporibus quibus ea quiſque ſcripſit, quibus potuit inſinuavit atque edidit, et inde in alios atque alios continuata notitia latiuſque firmata ad poſteros, etiam uſque ad noſtra tempora pervenerunt, ita ut interrogati cujus quiſque liber ſit, non haeſitemus quid reſpondere debeamus? Sed quid pergam in longe praeterita? Ecce iſtas literas quas habemus in manibus, ſi poſt aliquantum tempus vitae hujus noſtrae, vel illas quiſquam Fauſti eſſe, vel has neget eſſe meas, unde convincitur, niſi quia illi qui nunc iſta noverunt, notitiam ſuam ad longe etiam poſt futuros continuatis

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" had a better teſtimonie afforded them, Sect. VI.
" than thoſe of the Apoſtles and Evangeliſts.
" Nor does it weaken the credit and autho-
" rity of books received by the church of
" Chriſt from the begining, that ſome other
" writings have been without ground, and
" falſly aſcribed to the Apoſtles. For the
" like has happened, for inſtance, to *Hip-*
" *pocrates:* but yet his genuine works are
" diſtinguiſhed from others, which have been
" publiſhed under his name. We know the
" writings of the Apoſtles, as we know the
" works of *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, *Cicero*, *Varro*,
" and others, to be theirs. And, as we know
" the writings of divers eccleſiaſtical authors:
" foraſmuch as they have the teſtimonie of
" contemporaries, and of thoſe who have
" lived in ſucceding times. I might more-
" over, by way of illuſtration, produce for
" examples theſe now in hand. Suppoſe ſome
" one in time to come ſhould deny thoſe to
" be

tinuatis poſterorum ſucceſſionibus trajiciunt? Quae cum ita ſint, quis tandem tanto furore caecatur, —— qui dicat hoc mereri non potuiſſe Apoſtolorum eccleſiam, tam fidam, tam numeroſam fratrum concordiam, ut eorum ſcripta fideliter ad poſteros trajicerent, cum eorum cathedras uſque ad praeſentes epiſcopos certiſſima ſucceſſione ſervaverint; cum hoc quali-umcumque hominum ſcriptis, ſive extra eccleſiam, ſive in ipſa eccleſia, tanta facilitate proveniat? *Contr. Fauſt. l.* 33. *cap.* 6.

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" be the works of *Fauſtus*, or theſe to be " mine: how ſhould he be ſatisfyed, but " by the teſtimonie of thoſe of this time, " who knew both, and have tranſmitted their " accounts to others? And ſhall not, then, " the teſtimonie of the churches, and Chri- " ſtian brethren, be valid here; eſpecially " when they are ſo numerous, and ſo har- " monious, and the tradition is with ſo much " eaſe and certainty traced down from the " Apoſtles to our time? I ſay, ſhall any be " ſo fooliſh and unreaſonable, as to deny or " diſpute the credibility of ſuch a teſtimo- " nie to the Scriptures, which would be al- " lowed in behalf of any writings whatever, " whether Heathen, or Eccleſiaſtical."

So writes *Auguſtin*, with reſpect both to the genuinneſſe, and the integrity of the Scriptures of the New Teſtament, in his thirty third and laſt book againſt *Fauſtus*.

9.) I ſhall only add one ſhort paſſage concerning this laſt particular, the integrity of the text, from another book of the ſame work.

Auguſtin arguing for our Lord's humanity from theſe words, Rom. i. 3. *Of the ſeed of David, according to the fleſh*, ſays, " the (*b*) " clauſe

(*b*) Hoc autem quod adverſus impietatem veſtram ex apoſtoli

" clauſe is in all copies, ancient and modern. " All churches and languages agree with one " conſent in owning it." Sect. VI.

10.) By all which we perceive, how ſolidly, and rationally, *Auguſtin* defended the authority of the Scriptures: and how weak are all the objections, which the Manicheans brought againſt the antiquity, genuinneſſe, or purity, of the books of the New Teſtament.

Vindicated from charges of forging and interpolating Scripture.

VIII. *Auguſtin*, in the paſſage of his ſummarie, above cited, ſayd, " that the Mani- " cheans made uſe of apocryphal books." We ſhall have full proof of it preſently.

But let us firſt of all examine a charge or two brought againſt theſe people.

That they did not forge a Letter,

1. There is a paſſage in (*i*) *Auguſtin*, which might lead ſome perſons to ſuſpect, that the Manicheans

apoſtoli Pauli epiſtola profertur, Filium Dei ex ſemine David eſſe ſecundum carnem, omnes codices, et novi et veteres habent, omnes eccleſiae legunt, omnes linguae conſentiunt. *Contr. Fauſt. l. xi. c.* 3.

(*i*) Si enim prolatae fuerint aliquae literae, quae nullo alio narrante ipſius proprie Chriſti eſſe dicantur; unde fieri poterat, ut ſi vere ipſius eſſent, non legerentur, non acciperentur, non praecipuo culmine auctoritatis eminerent in ejus eccleſia——? Quis ergo tam demens, qui hodie credat eſſe epiſtolam Chriſti, quam protulerit Manichaeus, et non credat facta, vel dicta eſſe Chriſti, quae ſcripſit Matthaeus? *Aug. contr. F. l.* 28. *c.* 4.

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Sect. VI. *ascribed to Christ.*

Manicheans pretended to have ſome letter of Chriſt. Mr. *Jones (k)* in his table of Apocryphal Pieces not extant reckons this as one: *An Epiſtle of Chriſt produced by the Manicheans.* "But, ſays *(l) Beauſobre*, no ancient author having ever accuſed them of "forging ſuch a letter, and no man having "ever ſeen this pretended letter; it is reaſonable to conſider what *Auguſtin* ſays only "as a ſuppoſition, which makes a part of "an argument, otherwiſe alſo perplexed "enough." *Fabricius (m)* ſpeaks to the like purpoſe. Moreover *Fauſtus* acknowledgeth, that *(n)* Chriſt did not write the New Teſtament. If the ſect had any letter aſcribed to our Saviour, *Fauſtus* would have mentioned it: and *Auguſtin* in his anſwer would not only have made a ſuppoſition of ſuch a thing, but would have taken particular notice of it.

That they did not interpolate the N. T.

2. The Manicheans are ſometimes charged with interpolating, or endeavoring to interpolate and alter the books of the New Teſtament,

(k) Jones's Can. of the N. T. Vol. i. p. 145. 146.

(l) Hiſt. Manich. T. i. p. 338. 339.

(m) Ex hoc loco non ſatis firmiter probatur, Manichaeos revera Epiſtolam quamdam ſingularem ſub nomine Chriſti jactaſſe. &c. *Fabr. Cod. Pſ. N. T. T. i. p.* 306. *not. (f).*

(n) Praeſertim quod nec ab ipſo ſcriptum conſtat. *Fauſt. l.* 32. *cap.* 2.

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tament, in order to render the words of it agreeable to their ſentiments. Sect. VI.

The paſſages of *Titus* above cited imply as much. Pope *Leo (o)* ſeems to ſay it expreſsly.

But they may be acquitted here likewiſe. I have formerly (*) ſayd what is ſufficient for anſwering *Titus*. And *Fabricius (p)* has helped us to a good ſolution for *Leo*. "All "that is to be underſtood by his complaint "againſt the Manicheans is, that they made "uſe of ſome apocryphal books, in which "Chriſt was brought in ſpeaking what he "never ſayd: But they did not make any "alterations in the words of the Goſpels of "*Matthew*,

(o) Ipſaſque Evangelicas et Apoſtolicas paginas, quaedam auferendo, et quaedam inferendo violaverunt: confingentes ſibi ſub Apoſtolorum nominibus, et ſub verbis ipſis Salvatoris multa volumina falſitatis, quibus erroris ſui commenta munirent, et decipiendorum mentibus mortiferum virus effunderent. *Leo. Serm.* 4. *in Epiph. cap.* 4.

(*) *See p.* 350.

(p) Haec Leonis verba accipienda ſunt de libris apocryphis a neſcio quibus ſutoribus fabularum ſub Apoſtolorum nomine ſcriptis, quos a Manichaeis lectos notat Auguſtinus, l. 22. c. 79. Contra Fauſtum, et Timotheus preſbyter in loco ſupra, p. 178. et ſeq. adducto. In his Salvator ſubinde loquens inducebatur. Ceterum in Evangeliis Matthaei, Marci, Lucae, et Joannis, atque in Epiſtolis Pauli, —— nihil vel inferendo vel auferendo violaſſe haereticos iſtos, ſed tantum parva interpretatione ſcripta illa divina pervertiſſe, teſtatur Photius MS. contr. Manichaeos lib. i. *Fabr. ib. p.* 306. 307.

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" *Matthew*, *Mark*, *Luke* or *John*, or any " other of the canonical books of the New " Teſtament received by them, but only " endeavored to pervert them by falſe in- " terpretations."

That they really did not make any ſuch alterations, may be well argued from the teſtimonie given by *Photius* to the Paulicians of his time, whom he always conſiders as Manicheans. He ſays, " they *(q)* do not " make any material alterations in the Scrip- " tures, as *Marcion* and *Valentin* did." And preſently afterwards he ſays, " they do not " corrupt the Goſpel by any inſertions or " additions."

Mr. *Wolff* in his notes upon that paſſage of *Photius* ſays, he does not ſee how this can be reconciled with the accounts given by *Titus*, and *Archelaus*. As for *Titus*, what was formerly ſayd may ſuffice. Nor is there, perhaps, any greater difficulty in the words of *Archelaus*. We have indeed ſeen, that *(r)* *Mani* pretended the Scriptures of the New Teſtament had been altered by others. And in

(q) —— τοῖς ῥήμασι μὲν ϗ ὀνόμασιν οὐδὲν μέγα παραλλάττων, οὐδὲ κατακιϐδηλέων τῷ λόγῳ τὸ χρῆμα —— ϗ τὰ μὲν ῥητὰ —— δίδωσι κατέχειν τῆ τε εὐαγγελίῳ, μήτε παρενθήκαις μήτε προσθήκαις ἀνέδην λυμαινόμενος. *Ph. contr. Manich. l.* 1. *p.* 9. 10.

(r) See before, p. 354. *and* 355.

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in the place, referred to by Mr. *Wolff*, *Archelaus* says, "that (*s*) when *Mani* had our "Scriptures, he endeavored to find in them "his doctrine of the two Principles: and "that when he disputed with him, he strove "to support his opinions by the same; cen-"suring some things, and changing others:" that is, I think, perverting them. In a word, *Mani* perverted some texts of Scripture: and some others, that were too hard for him, he *censured*, as additions, but did not alter the text of the New Testament himself.

Augustin may be reckoned a good witness for them here. "For, says (*t*) he, if any "one should charge you with having inter-"polated some texts alleged by you, as fa-

(*s*) Et ut ne multa dicam, comparant universos libros Scripturarum nostrarum, —— quibus ille acceptis, homo astutus coepit in nostris libris occasiones inquirere dualitatis suae —— et in nostris libris, sicut etiam adversus me disputans fecit, assertionem suam proferre, quaedam in his accusans, quaedam permutans. —— *Arch. cap.* 54. *p.* 99.

(*t*) Tamen cum ea de iis codicibus proferretis, quos dicitis falsatos, hoc ipsum illic immissum esse diceremus, quod illic de Manichaeo sic dictum legeretur, ut de alio intelligere non possemus: quid faceretis, dicite mihi, nisi clamaretis, nullo modo vos potuisse falsare codices, qui jam in manibus essent omnium Christianorum? quia mox ut facere coepissetis, vetustiorum exemplarium veritate convinceremini. Qua igitur causa a vobis corrumpi non possent, hac causa a nemine potuerunt. *Aug. contr. F. l.* 32. *c.* 16. *Vid. et supra p.* 373. *not.* (*b*).

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" vorable to your cauſe, what would you " ſay? Would you not immediatly anſwer, " that it is impoſſible for you to do ſuch a " thing in books read by all Chriſtians? And " that if any ſuch attempt had been made " by you, it would have been preſently diſ- " cerned and defeated by comparing the an- " cient copies? Well then, ſays *Auguſtin*, for " the ſame reaſon that the Scriptures cannot " be corrupted by you, neither could they " be corrupted by any other people."

The Scriptures therefore were not corrupted. For it was impoſſible. Nor had the Manicheans attempted it.

Nor has *Auguſtin*, that I remember, any where charged them with ſuch an attempt: though, if there had been reaſon for it, there were many occaſions to mention it. He often ſpeaks of their charge againſt the Catholics. Certainly therefore he would have returned it, if there had been any ground for it.

Moreover, it is evident from *Auguſtin*, that the Manicheans had no copies of the books of the New Teſtament, different from thoſe uſed by the Catholics. They often ſayd, that the Catholic copies were corrupted. But (*u*) when

(*u*) Proferendus eſt namque tibi alius codex eadem conti- nens,

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when called upon to produce others, more ſincere and uncorrupt, they always declined it.

It is alſo very remarkable, which *Auguſtin* ſays, that when he was with them, and (*x*) in their private diſcourſes they inſinuated, that the Scriptures of the New Teſtament had been corrupted by ſome men, who were deſirous to mix Judaiſm with Chriſtianity, they produced not any copies different from thoſe commonly received.

Beauſobre has vindicated the Manicheans from (*y*) the charge or ſuſpicion of being the authors of ſeveral paſſages, found in ſome copies of the New Teſtament. I refer to him. But I do not think it needful for me now to enter into particulars of that kind. I have ſayd what is ſufficient to render men eaſie upon this head.

nens, ſed tamen incorruptus et verior, ubi ſola deſint ea quae hic immiſſa eſſe criminaris. Ut ſi, verbi cauſa, Pauli epiſtolam, quae ad Romanos ſcripta eſt, corruptam eſſe contendis, aliam proferas incorruptam, vel alium codicem potius, in quo ejuſdem Apoſtoli eadem epiſtola ſincera et incorrupta conſcripta ſit. Non faciam, inquis, ne ipſe corrupiſſe credar, hoc enim ſoletis dicere. *De Mor. Ec. Cath. cap.* 29. *n.* 61.

(*x*) Quam [reſponſionem] quidem non facile palam promebant, ſed nobis ſecretius, cum dicerent ſcripturas novi Teſtamenti falſatas fuiſſe a neſcio quibus, qui Judaeorum legem inſerere Chriſtianae fidei voluerunt, atque ipſi incorrupta exemplaria nulla proferrent. *Confeſſ. l.* 5. *c. xi. n.* 21.

(*y*) *Hiſt. de Manich. T. i. p.* 342——344.

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Of their apocryphal Books.

IX. *Auguſtin* in his ſummarie ſayd, "that "the Manicheans made uſe of Apocryphal "books, which they prefer to the Canoni- "cal Scriptures." That they uſed ſuch books, is unqueſtionable. But what regard they had for them, is not ſo eaſily perceived by us now.

1. As we are now entering into this inquirie, and are to obſerve the proofs of the Manicheans uſing apocryphal writings, and what they were, it may not be improper to take notice here of *Auguſtin*'s definition of ſuch books. "Apocryphal books, he *(z)* "ſays, are not ſuch as are of authority, [or "received by the church,] and are kept ſecret: "But they are books, whoſe original is ob- "ſcure, and which are deſtitute of proper "teſtimonials; their authors being unknown, "and their character either heretical, or ſuſ- "pected." That paſſage is taken out of *Auguſtin*'s anſwer to *Fauſtus*. A like deſcription

(z) Aliud eſt ipſos libros non accipere, et nullo vinculo detineri, quod Pagani de omnibus libris noſtris, quod Judaei de novo Teſtamento faciunt, quod denique nos ipſi de veſtris et aliorum haereticorum, ſi quos ſuos et proprios habent, vel de iis qui appellantur apocryphi: non quod habendi ſint in aliqua auctoritate ſecreta, ſed quia nulla teſtificationis luce declarati, de neſcio quo ſecreto, neſcio quorum praeſumtione prolati ſunt. *Contr. Fauſt. l. xi. c. 2.*

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tion of ſuch books may be ſeen *(a)* in his work, entitled Of the City of God. Sect. VI.

2. Let us now obſerve ſome farther proofs of the Manicheans uſing apocryphal ſcriptures. At the ſame time we ſhall perceive in good meaſure, what they were.

Photius ſays of *Agapius*, a celebrated Manichean writer, that *(b)* he makes uſe of the Acts of the twelve Apoſtles, eſpecially thoſe of *Andrew*.

Philaſter ſays, that *(c)* the Manicheans, and divers other heretics, make uſe of apocryphal

 ſcriptures.

(*a*) Omittamus igitur earum ſcripturarum fabulas, quae apocryphae nuncupantur, eo quod earum occulta origo non claruit patribus, a quibus uſque ad nos auctoritas veracium Scripturarum certiſſima et notiſſima ſucceſſione pervenit. In his autem apocryphis etſi invenitur aliqua veritas, tamen propter multa falſa nulla eſt canonica auctoritas. *De Civ. Dei l.* 15. *c.* 23. *n.* 4.

(*b*) Καὶ τὰις λεγομέναις δὲ πράξεσι τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων, ἧ μάλιστα ἀνδρέᾳ, ἐ μόνον συντίθεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἶθαι ἔχει τὸ φρόνημα ἡρμένον. *Phot. Cod.* 179. *p.* 405.

(*c*) —— e quibus ſunt maxime Manichaei, Gnoſtici, Nicolaitae, Valentiniani, et alii quam plurimi, qui apocrypha Prophetarum et Apoſtolorum, id eſt Actus ſeparatos habentes, Canonicas legere Scripturas contemnunt. —— Nam Manichaei apocrypha beati Andreae Apoſtoli, id eſt, Actus, quos fecit veniens de Ponto in Graeciam, quos conſcripſerunt tunc diſcipuli ſequentes Apoſtolum. Unde et habent Manichaei et alii tales Andreae beati, et Joannis Actus Evangeliſtae beati, et Petri ſimiliter Apoſtoli; in quibus quia ſigna fecerunt magna et prodigia, ut pecudes et canes et beſtiae loquerentur, &c. *Philaſt. Haer.* 88.

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ſcriptures. He ſays particularly, that they have Acts of *Andrew*, *John* and *Peter*.

St. *Cyril* of *Jeruſalem*, having named the three diſciples of *Mani*; *Thomas*, *Buddas* and *Hermas*, adds: "Let *(d)* no man read the "Goſpel according to *Thomas*. For it is not "a work of one of the twelve Apoſtles of "Chriſt, but of one of the three naughty "diſciples of *Mani*." And in another place he ſays, "The *(e)* Manicheans have writ a "Goſpel, entitled according to *Thomas*, by "which the minds of the ſimple are cor-"rupted."

Fauſtus ſpeaks, as if he had ſome writings, or hiſtories of the Apoſtles *Peter*, and *Andrew*, and *Thomas*, and *John*, which were not in the Catholic canon.

He

(d) Μηδεὶς ἀναγινωσκέτω τὸ κατὰ Θωμᾶν εὐαγγέλιον· ἑνὸς γάρ ἐστιν ἐνὸς τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων, ἀλλ' ἑνὸς τῶν κακῶν τριῶν τῶν μάνη μαθητῶν. *Cyr. Cat.* 6. *n.* 31.

(e) Ἔγραψαν οἱ μανιχαῖοι κατὰ Θωμᾶν εὐαγγέλιον, ὅπερ ἐνεδίσατῆς εὐαγγελικῆς παρουσίας ἐπικεχρωσμένον, διαφθείρον τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἁπλουστέρων. *Id. Cat.* 4. *n.* 36.

(f) Mitto enim ceteros ejuſdem Domini noſtri apoſtolos, Petrum et Andream, Thomam, et illum inexpertem Veneris inter ceteros beatum Joannem, qui per diverſa profeſſionem [al. poſſeſſionem] boni iſtius inter virgines ac pueros divino praeconio cecinerunt, formam nobis atque adeo vobis ipſis faciendarum virginum relinquentes. Sed hos quidem, ut dixi, praetereo; quia eos excluſiſtis de canone: &c. *Fauſt. l.* 30. *c.* 4.

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He certainly quotes *(g)* the Acts of *Paul* and *Thecla* with a good deal of reſpect, as if he thought it a true hiſtorie. Of this book I have ſayd ſomething *(h)* already.

Fauſtus ſays, " the *(i)* Virgin *Marie* was " not of the tribe of *Judah*, but of *Levi*: " foraſmuch as her father was a prieſt, nam- " ed *Joachim*." *Auguſtin (k)* in his anſwer calls the book, whence that particular was taken, an apocryphal piece of no authority.

(g) Si vero favere huic quoque propoſito et non reluctari volenti, id quoque doctrinam putatis eſſe daemoniorum, taceo nunc veſtrum periculum, ipſi jam timeo Apoſtolo, ne daemoniorum doctrinam intuliſſe Iconium videatur, cum Theclam oppigneratam jam thalamo, in amorem ſermone ſuo perpetuae virginitatis incendit. —— Num igitur et de Chriſto eadem dicere poteritis, aut de apoſtolo Paulo, quem ſimiliter ubique conſtat, et verbo ſemper praetuliſſe nuptis innuptas, et id opere quoque oſtendiſſe erga ſanctiſſimam Theclam. Quod ſi haec daemoniorum doctrina non fuit, quam et Theclae Paulus, et ceteri ceteris annuntiaverunt Apoſtoli.—— *Fauſt. l.* 30. *c.* 4.

(h) See the ſecond Part of this work, Vol. ii. p. 644. *and p.* 706.——711. *and Beauſ. Hiſt. de Manich. T. i. p.* 423.

(i) —— ſed ex tribu Levi, unde ſacerdotes: quod ipſum palam eſt, quia eadem patrem habuit ſacerdotem quemdam nomine Joachim, cujus tamen in hac generatione nulla uſquam habita mentio eſt. *Fauſt. l.* 23. *c.* 4.

(k) Ac per hoc illud quod de generatione Mariae Fauſtus poſuit, —— quia canonicum non eſt, me non conſtringit.—— Hoc ergo potius, vel tale aliquid crederem, ſi illius apocryphae ſcripturae, ubi Joachim pater Mariae legitur, auctoritate detinerer. *Aug. Contr. Fauſt. l.* 23. *n.* 9.

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Beauſobre makes no doubt, but *(l)* that it was ſome book of *Leucius*.

Auguſtin often ſpeaks of the Manicheans uſing apocryphal ſcriptures. In his book againſt *Adimantus* he quotes one of thoſe books, containing *(m)* a hiſtorie of the Apoſtle *Thomas*. In the ſame work he relates *(n)* another hiſtorie of the Apoſtle *Peter*, taken from their apocryphal ſcriptures, and probably from the ſame work, where was the forecited hiſtorie concerning *Thomas*. And in the twenty ſecond book of his work againſt *Fauſtus*

(l) Cela ſe trouvoit, ſans donte, avec d'autres erreurs, dans le livre de Seleucus, qui avoit écrit l'hiſtoire de la Vierge. *Beauſ. T. i. p.* 354.

(m) Ipſi autem legunt ſcripturas apocryphas, quas etiam incorruptiſſimas dicunt, ubi ſcriptum eſt, apoſtolum Thomam maledixiſſe homini, a quo per imprudentiam palma percuſſus eſt, ignorante quis eſſet, maledictumque illud continuo veniſſe ad effectum. Nam cum ille homo, quoniam miniſter convivii erat, ut apportaret aquam, exiſſet ad fontem, a leone occiſus et dilaniatus eſt. —— Sic etenim in illa ſcriptura legitur, quod deprecatus fuerit apoſtolus pro illo in quem temporaliter vindicatum eſt, ut ei parceretur in futuro judicio. *Aug. contr. Adim. c.* 17. *n.* 2. *T.* 8.

(n) In illo ergo libro, —— legimus ad ſententiam Petri cecidiſſe homines, et mortuos eſſe virum et uxorem.——Quod iſti magna caecitate vituperant, cum in apocryphis pro magno legant, et illud quod de apoſtolo Thoma commemoravi, et ipſius Petri filiam paralyticam factam precibus patris, et hortulani filiam ad precem ipſius Petri eſſe mortuam. *ib. c.* 17, *n.* 5.

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Fauſtus he relates the (*o*) ſame account of *Thomas* from the apocryphal ſcriptures uſed by the Manicheans, which, he there ſays, were compoſed by ſome unknown fabulous authors under the names of Apoſtles.

In his anſwer to an Anonymous author, whom he ſtiles an Adverſarie of the Law and the Prophets, he obſerves, that (*p*) author alleged paſſages out of apocryphal writings under the names of the Apoſtles *Andrew* and *John:* which, he ſays, if they were really theirs, would have been received by the

(*o*) Legunt ſcripturas apocryphas Manichaei, a neſcio quibus ſutoribus fabularum ſub apoſtolorum nominibus ſcriptas. —— Ibi tamen legunt apoſtolum Thomam, cum eſſet in quodam nuptiarum convivio peregrinus et prorſus incognitus, a quodam miniſtro palma percuſſum, imprecatum fuiſſe homini continuam ſaevamque vindictam. Nam cum egreſſus eſſet ad fontem, unde aquam convivantibus miniſtraret, eum leo irruens interemit, manumque ejus, qua caput Apoſtoli levi ictu percuſſerat, a corpore avulſam, ſecundum verbum ejuſdem Apoſtoli id optantis atque imprecantis, canis intulit menſis, in quibus ipſe diſcumbebat Apoſtolus. —— Utrum illa vera ſit aut conficta narratio, nihil mea nunc intereſt. Certe enim Manichaei, a quibus illae ſcripturae, quas canon eccleſiaſticus reſpuit, tamquam verae ac ſincerae acceptantur, ſaltem hinc coguntur fateri, &c. *Contr. Fauſt. l.* 22. *c.* 79.

(*p*) Sane de apocryphis iſte poſuit teſtimonia, quae ſub nominibus apoſtolorum Andreae Joanniſque conſcripta ſunt. Quae ſi illorum eſſent, recepta eſſent ab eccleſia, quae ab illorum temporibus per epiſcoporum ſucceſſiones certiſſimas, uſque ad noſtra et deinceps tempora perſeverat. *Contr. Adv. L. et P. l. i. c.* 20. *in.*

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the Church, which has ſubſiſted with an uninterrupted ſucceſſion of Biſhops from the times of the Apoſtles to our own.

In the Diſputes with *Felix*, the Manichean, *Auguſtin* puts him in mind *(q)* of a paſſage of the Acts of *Leucius*, called Acts of the Apoſtles, one of the apocryphal ſcriptures, not received by the Catholic church, but much eſteemed by the Manicheans, as he ſays.

The ſame paſſage is alſo quoted, as from *Leutius*, or *Leucius*, by (*r*) the author *De Fide* againſt the Manicheans. Who alſo afterwards quotes the (*s*) ſame book of *Leucius*, entitled Acts of the Apoſtles, and relates thence a ſtorie concerning the Apoſtle *Andrew*.

3. As

(q) Habetis etiam hoc in ſcripturis apocryphis, quas canon quidem catholicus non admittit; vobis autem tanto graviores ſunt, quanto a catholico canone ſecluduntur. Aliquid etiam inde commemorem, cujus ego auctoritate non teneor, ſed tu convinceris. In Actibus ſcriptis a Leutio, quos tamquam Actus Apoſtolorum ſcribit, habes ita poſitum: Etenim ſpecioſa figmenta, &c. *Act. cum Fel. l. 2. c. 6.*

(*r*) In Actibus etiam conſcriptis a Leucio, quos ipſi accipiunt, ſic ſcriptum eſt: Etenim ſpecioſa figmenta, &c. *De Fid. c. 5. ap. Aug. T. 8. in App.*

(*s*) Attendite in Actibus Leucii, quos ſub nomine Apoſtolorum ſcribit, qualia ſint quae accipitis de Maximilla uxore Egetis: —— Ibi etiam ſcriptum eſt, quod cum eadem Maximilla et Iphidamia ſimul eſſent ad audiendum apoſtolum Andream, puerulus quidam ſpecioſus, quem vult Leucius vel Deum, vel certe angelum intelligi, commendaverit eos Andreae apoſtolo. *De Fid. cap. 38.*

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An account of Leucius.

3. As we have now had ſufficient proofs of the Manicheans uſing apocryphal ſcriptures, and *Leucius* has been named; I ſhall next give ſome account of this man, who is uſually eſteemed a great forger of ſuch books.

In the *firſt* place I ſhall take notice of his works, and the ancient authors, who have mentioned him; *ſecondly*, his opinions; *thirdly*, his time. After which I intend to add ſome remarks upon the apocryphal ſcriptures, made uſe of by the Manicheans.

His Works.

1.) I would give ſome account of the books aſcribed to *Leucius*, and ſhew the places of ancient authors, who have mentioned him. But I muſt be allowed to be brief. They who are deſirous of fuller ſatisfaction may look into *(t) Fabricius*, *(u) Jones*, *(x) Beauſobre*, and others. And poſſibly, I may ſome time have another opportunity to take farther notice of him.

Leucius is expreſsly named in *(y)* two or three paſſages juſt cited from *Auguſtin*, and the author *De Fide*. And poſſibly he is the author of all the other apocryphal pieces before

(t) Cod. Apocr. N. T.
(u) Of the Canon of Scripture, Vol. i.
(x) Hiſt. de Manich. T. i. p. 348. *&c.*
(y) Act. cum Fel. l. 2. c. 6. *De Fide c.* 5. *et* 38.

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fore taken notice of from *Fauſtus* and *Auguſtin*, though he is not there named.

Photius (z) gives an account of a book entitled "the Travels of the Apoſtles. In "which are contained Acts of *Peter*, *John*, "*Andrew*, *Thomas*, *Paul*. The author is "*Leucius Charinus*, as the book itſelf ſhews."

He is mentioned by name in the Decree of *(a) Gelaſius*. All his books are there declared to be apocryphal.

He is mentioned in like manner by *(b)* Pope *Innocent* the firſt, in one of his Epiſtles.

A large fragment of his Travels of the Apoſtles is cited *(c)* in the ſecond Council of *Nice*.

He

(z) Ἀνεγνώσθη βιβλίον, ἃι λεγόμεναι τῶν ἀποστόλων περίοδοι· ἐν αἷς περιείχοντο πράξεις Πέτρου, Ἰωάννου, Ἀνδρέου, Θωμᾶ, Παύλου. Γράφει δὲ αὐτὰς, ὡς δηλοῖ τὸ αὐτὸ βιβλίον, Λεύκιος Χαρῖνος. *Phot. Cod.* 114. *p.* 292.

(*a*) Libri omnes, quos fecit Leucius diſcipulus diaboli, apocryphi. *Gelaſ. ap. Labb. Conc. T.* 4. *p.* 1264.

(b) Cetera autem, quae vel ſub nomine Matthiae, ſive Jacobi minoris, vel ſub nomine Petri et Joannis, quae a quodam Leucio ſcripta ſunt, vel ſub nomine Andreae, quae a Henòcharide et Leonida philoſophis; vel ſub nomine Thomae, et ſi qua ſunt alia, non ſolum repudianda, verum etiam noveris eſſe damnanda. *Inn. ad Exup. Ep.* 3. *ap. Conc. ib. T.* 2. *p.* 1256.

(c) ἐκ τῶν ψευδεπιγράφων περιόδων τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων. *ap. Labb. Conc. T.* 7. *p.* 357. *&c. and ſee Beauſ. Hiſt. de Man. T. i. p.* 388. 389. *&c.*

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He is mentioned *(d)* in the ſuppoſititious letter of *Jerome* to *Chromatius* and *Heliodorus*, and called *Seleucus*.

His Opinions.

2.) In the next place I ſhould ſpeak a word or two of the opinions of *Leucius*. The account, which *Photius* gives of them, who had read his work abovementioned, is this: "He *(e)* teaches, that the God of the Jews "is evil: that the God, preached by Jeſus "Chriſt, is good. He ſpeaks of God by "the names of Father and Son: He ſays, "that Chriſt was not really man, though "he appeared to be ſo: That he appeared "to the diſciples differently, ſometimes "young, ſometimes old, and leſs at one time "than another, and ſometimes ſo high as to "touch the heavens with his head. He ſays, "that Chriſt was not crucifyed, but another "in

(d) Sed factum eſt, ut a Manichaei diſcipulo nomine Seleuco, qui etiam Apoſtolorum geſta falſo ſermone conſcripſit, hic liber editus, &c. *Ap. Hieron. T. v. p.* 445.

(e) Φησὶ γάρ ἄλλον εἶναι τὸν τῶν ἰουδαίων θεὸν καὶ κακόν —— ἄλλον δὲ τὸν χριστὸν, ὃν φησὶν ἀγαθόν —— καὶ καλεῖ αὐτὸν καὶ πατέρα καὶ υἱόν· λέγει δὲ μηδ' ἐνανθρωπῆσαι ἀληθῶς, ἀλλὰ δόξαι· καὶ πολλὰ πολλάκις φανῆναι τοῖς μαθηταῖς, νέον καὶ πρεσβύτην πάλιν, καὶ πάλιν παῖδα, καὶ μέζονα καὶ ἐλάττονα, καὶ μέγιστον, ὥστε τὴν κορυφὴν διήκειν ἐσθ' ὅτε μέχρις οὐρανοῦ —— καὶ τὸν χριστὸν μὴ σταυρωθῆναι, ἀλλ' ἕτερον ἀντ' αὐτοῦ. —— Γάμους δὲ νομίμους ἀθετεῖ, καὶ πᾶσαν γένεσιν πονηράν τε καὶ τοῦ πονηροῦ· καὶ πλάσιν τῶν δαιμόνων ἄλλου ἐκκληροῖ —— δοκεῖ δὲ κατ' εἰκόνων τοῖς εἰκονομάχοις ἐν ταῖς ἰωάννου πράξεσι δογματίζειν. *Phot. Cod.* 114. *p.* 292.

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" in his room: that marriage is evil in itſelf, " and of the evil one: that God is not the " creator of demons. In the Acts of *John* " he ſeems to argue againſt images."

From this account, though poſſibly *Photius* is not exact, and may have miſrepreſented ſome things, it may be concluded, that *(f) Leucius* agreed in divers reſpects with the Manicheans, or rather they with him. For we may hence argue, that as he ſayd the God of the Jews was evil, he did not receive the books of the Old Teſtament. We likewiſe perceive, that he was one of them who are called *Docetae*, and that he did not believe Chriſt to be man really, but in appearance only. He likewiſe had a diſadvantageous opinion of marriage, and highly extolled perpetual virginity. He denyed, that demons were made by God, and condemned the uſe of pictures and images. *Beauſobre (g)* has carefully examined the fore-cited extract of *Photius*, and made juſt remarks upon it, for diſcovering the real ſentiments of *Leucius*.

His Time.

3.) I am to conſider the time of *Leucius*. Mr. *Jones* was poſitive, that *(h) Leucius* was a Mani-

(f) Concerning the opinions of Leucius ſee Beauſ. T. i. p. 384.——390.

(g) ib. p. 384.——390.

(h) as before, V. i. p. 303. *&c.*

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a Manichean, and that he did not live before the later part of the third, or the begining of the fourth centurie after Chriſt. And many others undoubtedly are of the ſame opinion. But *(i) Grabe* placeth him in the ſecond centurie, as does *(k) Mill:* who ſuppoſeth, that he flouriſhed about the year of Chriſt 140. and has a great many juſt obſervations upon this man, and his works, to whom I refer the reader: not judging it needful to tranſcribe a modern author, who is, or ought to be in every bodies hands. *Beauſobre* is exactly of the ſame mind with the two laſt mentioned writers. And ſays, that *(l)* unleſs by a Manichean be meant one who held the ſame, or like opinions with them; it is certain, that *Leucius* was not a Manichean, he having lived more than a hundred years before *Mani* was born. He then proceeds to mention (*m*) divers arguments for that ſuppoſition, which appear to me

(i) —— figmentum Leucii haeretici, ſeculo ſecundo plura ejuſmodi cudentis. *Grabe Spic. T. i. p.* 58. —— Leucius, ſive Lucius, Marcionis ſucceſſor. Sec. ii. *ib. p.* 78. —— quae Lucium ſeculi ii. haereticum auctorem habere videntur. *ib. p.* 324.

(k) Prolog. n. 333.—— 340.

(l) Hiſt. de Man. T. i. p. 349. 350.

(m) ib. p. 350, 351.

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me very conſiderable. But I may not now ſtay to tranſcribe, or abridge them.

4. Laſtly, I am to mention ſome obſervations upon the works of *Leucius*, and the apocryphal writings made uſe of by the Manicheans.

1.) It ſeems to me not improbable, that all the preceding quotations of apocryphal books in *Auguſtin* are taken out of one and the ſame book, called Acts, or Travels of the Apoſtles, and compoſed by *Leucius*.

2.) So much I ſayd formerly. I now add: It ſeems to me, that the apocryphal Acts of *Andrew*, *Thomas*, *Peter*, *John*, and even *Paul*, were not diſtinct books, but parts of one and the ſame work, called Acts of the Apoſtles. *Photius*, as before quoted, calls the work of *Leucius*, *Travels of the Apoſtles*. That very title might lead us to ſuppoſe, there was ſomewhat in that piece concerning all, or moſt of the Apoſtles. In his article of *Agapius* he ſays, "that Manichean au-
"thor makes uſe of the Acts of the twelve
"Apoſtles, eſpecially thoſe of *Andrew*." It does not follow, that the Acts of *Andrew*, or *Thomas*, or the like, were diſtinct works, becauſe they are ſometimes quoted ſeverally, and alone. We have a proof of this in the article of *Leucius*, juſt now tranſcribed from *Photius*,

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Photius, where at the end he mentions the *Acts of John distinctly*: whilst yet, unquestionably, they were a part only of the work before described by the general title of the Travels of the Apostles: which also, he expressly sayd, contained the Acts of *Peter*, *John*, *Andrew*, *Thomas*, *Paul*. *Mill* likewise (*n*) allows it to be one work, which contained Acts of several Apostles.

3.) Another observation to be mentioned here is, that there is no good reason to think, as some have done, that the apocryphal scriptures, made use of by the Manicheans, were forged by them. No, they had no occasion to forge books, of that sort. For they found most of their sentiments encouraged by apocryphal books, composed by authors of earlyer antiquity. Those (*o*) books favored their sentiments concerning the seeming humanity of Jesus, the merit of virginity or celibacie, and the imperfection of the marriage-state. They therefore took the advantage of those writings, and sometimes quoted, or appealed to them.

(*n*) Consarcinati quoque erant ab eodem Charino, teste, qui librum ipsum diligenter perlustrârat, Photio, Περιοδὸι Apostolorum.—Complectebatur autem istud volumen 1. Acta Petri. — 2. Acta Joannis. — 3. Acta Andreae. — 4. Acta Thomae. — *Mill. Proleg. n.* 337. 338.

(*o*) *Beauf. T. i. p.* 424.

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Cyril, above quoted, says, the Gospel of *Thomas* was writ by a disciple of *Mani*, so called. But (*p*) *Beausobre* well argues, that this Gospel was not forged by the Manicheans: forasmuch as it was in being before the rise of Manicheism, and is mentioned among spurious writings, not only by (*q*) *Eusebe*, but also by (*r*) *Origen* in the preface to his Commentarie upon St. *Luke*'s Gospel. He adds, that the Gospel of *Thomas* is placed among apocryphal books in the *Synopsis*, which is in (*s*) the works of *Athanasius*, without imputing it to the Manicheans. *Gelasius* likewise contents himself with saying of this Gospel, that (*t*) it was used by the Manicheans, without adding, that it was forged by them.

The same may be shewn to be probable, with regard to other books, made use of by the Manicheans.

Eusebe among spurious books, writ by heretics, reckons (*u*) Acts of *Andrew*, *John*, and

(*p*) *ib. p.* 345.

(*q*) *Hist. Ec. l.* 3. *c.* 25. *p.* 97. *D.*

(*r*) *The passage of Origen, with remarks upon it, may be seen in the third Vol. of this work, p.* 315. *&c.*

(*s*) *Athan. T.* 2. *p.* 202.

(*t*) Evangelium nomine Thomae, quo utuntur Manichaei, apocryphus. *Gelas. ap. Labb. Conc. T.* 4. *p.* 1264.

(*u*) *H. E. l.* 3. *c.* 25. *p.* 97. *D.*

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and other Apoſtles. *Epiphanius* ſays, that *(x)* the Acts of *Andrew*, *John* and *Thomas*, were uſed by the Encratites: the *(y)* Acts of *Andrew* and *Thomas* by the Apoſtolics: the *(z)* Acts of *Andrew* and other Apoſtles by the *Origeniſts*: all three ſects, which are ſuppoſed to be older than the *(a)* Manicheans. Sect. VI.

Auguſtin particularly obſerves of *(b)* a hymn, uſed by the Priſcillianiſts, that it was among the apocryphal ſcriptures. And then adds: "Not that theſe apocryphal ſcriptures "are peculiarly theirs. For there are ſeve-"ral ſects of very different opinions from "each other, who delight in thoſe books, "as fetching thence ſome ſupport for ſome "of their notions."

4.) I add but one obſervation more, which is, that theſe apocryphal books confirm the

(x) Epiph. H. 47. *n.* 2.

(y) H. 61. *n.* 1.

(z) H. 63. *n.* 2.

(a) See the fourth vol. of this work. ch. xli. p. 467. *&c.*

(b) Hymnus ſane, quem dicunt eſſe Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti, —— in ſcripturas ſolet apocryphis inveniri. Quae non proprie Priſcillianiſtarum ſunt, ſed alii quoque haeretici eis nonnullarum ſectarum impietate vanitatis utuntur, inter ſe quidem diverſa ſentientes, unde ſuas quiſque varias haereſes ſunt ſecuti. Sed ſcripturas iſtas habent in ſua diverſitate communes, eaſque illi praecipue frequentare aſſolent, qui legem veterem et prophetas canonicos non accipiunt. *Ep.* 237. *al.* 253. *n.* 2.

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hiſtorie of the genuine and authentic Scriptures of the New Teſtament. They do not directly contradict them. They indirectly confirm and eſtabliſh them. For they are compoſed and writ in the names of ſuch, as our authentic Scriptures ſay were Apoſtles, or companions of Apoſtles. They all ſuppoſe the dignity of our Lord's perſon, and the power of working miracles, together with a high degree of authority, to have been conveyed by him to his Apoſtles.

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SECT. VII.

Various Readings, and Select Paſſages, in Fauſtus the Manichean.

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I SHALL here take ſome notice of various readings in the New Teſtament, or the text of Scripture made uſe of by the Manicheans, and likewiſe ſome ſelect paſſages, or obſervations in *Fauſtus* the Manichean.

1. The Catholics, as *(a) Fauſtus* obſerves, aſſerted the integrity of the books of the New Teſtament, and could not endure the ſuppoſition, that they had been corrupted and interpolated.

2. *Fauſtus* ſays, that *(b)* the goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt is nothing but the preaching, or the

(a) Sed quia vobis ita placet, qui nunquam ſine ſtomacho auditis aliquid eſſe in Apoſtolo cauponatum, ne hoc quidem nobis ſciatis eſſe contrarium. *Fauſt. l. xi. c.* 1.

(b) —— et interrogas, utrum accipiam Evangelium? niſi adhuc neſcis, quid ſit quod Evangelium nuncupatur. Eſt enim nihil aliud, quam praedicatio et mandatum Chriſti. *Fauſt. l.* 5. *c.* 1. Vides in me Chriſti beatitudines illas, quae Evangelium

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Sect. VII. the doctrine and commandments of Chriſt. *Beauſobre* aſſents *(c)* to this explication, as right. And prefers it to *Auguſtin*'s, though that great writer did not forget to allege *(d)* 2 Tim. ii. 8.

3. We evidently perceive from the work of *Fauſtus*, that *(e)* both the Catholic and the Manichean copies of the New Teſtament had the two genealogies in St. *Matthew* and St. *Luke*. 4. It

Evangelium faciunt, et interrogas, utrum accipiam? *ibid.* —— Quia Evangelium quidem a praedicatione Chriſti et eſſe coepit et nominari. —— *Id. l.* 2. *c.* 1. Scias me, ut dixi, accipere Evangelium, id eſt, praedicationem Chriſti. *ib.*

(c) Cependant je dois rendre juſtice à Fauſte. Il n'explique pas mal, et ſi je l'oſe dire, il explique mieux que S. Auguſtin, ce que veut dire le mot d' Evangile. Il entend par là, non l'hiſtoire de la naiſſance, et des actions de J. Chriſt, mais le doctrine, que Jeſus Chriſt a prechée. —— Et quoique S. Auguſtin eût raiſon dans le fond, il n'en avoit pas neanſmoins de ſoutenir, comme il faſoit, que l'hiſtoire de la naiſſance de J. Chriſt eſt compriſe dans l'idée de ces mots, *Evangile de J. Chriſt*, qui ne ſignifioit autre choſe, que la doctrine prechée par Jeſus Chriſt. *Beauſ. Hiſt. de Manich. T. i. p.* 298. 299.

(d) —— hanc ſcilicet cauſam ſubjiciens, quia generatio Chriſti non pertinet ad Evangelium. Quid ergo reſpondebis Apoſtolo dicenti, Memor eſto Chriſtum Jeſum reſurrexiſſe a mortuis, ex ſemine David ſecundum Evangelium meum? *Aug. contr. Fauſt. l.* 2. *c.* 2.

(e) Quid enim ſcripſit? Liber generationis Jeſu Chriſti filii David. &c. *Fauſt. l.* 2. *c.* 1. Sed offenſus duorum maxime Evangeliſtarum diſſenſione, qui genealogiam ejus ſcribunt, Lucae et Matthaei, haeſi. &c. *l.* 3. *c.* 1. *Vid. et l.* 7. *c.* 1. *et l.* 23. *c.* 1. 2.

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4. It looks, as if *(f) Fauſtus* underſtood the beatitude, Matt. v. 3. of worldly poverty, and the *Mourning* in ver. 4. of afflictions in this life; and ver. 6. of bodily hunger and thirſt for the ſake of righteouſneſſe: though, as it ſeems, this laſt mentioned text, which we render *hunger and thirſt after righteouſneſſe*, was read *(g)* as it is now in our preſent copies.

5. *Fauſtus* had Matth. xxviii. 19. in his *(b)* copies.

6. He likewiſe quotes *(i)* the begining of St. *Mark*'s and St. *John*'s Goſpels.

7. There is ſome reaſon to think, that

(f) Vides pauperem, vides mitem, —— lugentem, eſurientem, ſitientem, perſecutiones et odia ſuſtinentem propter juſtitiam. *l.* 5. *c.* 1. —— beati qui lugent, beati qui eſuriunt, beati qui perſecutionem patiuntur propter juſtitiam. *ib. c.* 3.

(g) —— quomodo eſurientem et ſitientem juſtitiam, quam Fauſtus in ſcriptis ſuis non addidit. *Aug. Contr. Fauſt. l.* 5. *c.* 7.

(b) Et alibi ad diſcipulos: Ite, docete omnes gentes, baptizantes eos in nomine Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti,—— *F. l.* 5. *c.* 3.

(i) At denique Marcus, —— vide quam ſit competenter exorſus: Evangelium, inquit, Jeſu Chriſti, Filii Dei. *Fauſt. l.* 2. *c. i.* Sed Joannes quidem in principio fuiſſe Verbum dicit, et Verbum fuiſſe apud Deum, et Deum fuiſſe Verbum. Marcus vero, Evangelium, inquit, Jeſu Chriſti, Filii Dei. *l.* 3. *c.* 1. Cur ergo credunt Joanni dicenti, In principio erat Verbum? *Aug. C. Fauſt. l.* 7. *c.* 2.

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Fauſtus read Luke xxiii. 43. as *(k) Origen* did: *This (l) day ſhalt thou be with me in the paradiſe of God*, or *of my Father.*

8. *Fauſtus* (*m*) has the hiſtorie of the woman taken in adulterie, which is at the begining of the eighth Chapter of St. *John*'s Goſpel.

9. *Mani* in the Diſpute with *Archelaus* underſtands our Lord to ſay (*n*) in John viii. 44. that the *devil is a lyar, as is alſo his father.* Upon this text the curious may conſult *(o) Mill*, and *(p) Beauſobre.*

10. *Auguſtin* in his work againſt *Fauſtus* ſays, that in ſome *Latin (q)* copies they had Rom. i. 3. *Which was born of the ſeed of David*; inſtead of *made*, which is in the *Greek.*

11. *Fauſtus*

(*k*) *See Cred. P. 2. V. 3. p.* 374. 375.

(*l*) —— Cum latronem Chriſtus de ligno ſecum introduxerit in paradiſum Patris ſui. *Fauſt. l.* 14. *c. i.* —— et ipſo eodem die ſecum futurum dixit eum in paradiſo Patris ſui. *Id. l.* 33. *c.* 1.

(*m*) In injuſtitia namque et in adulterio deprehenſam mulierem quamdam Judaeis accuſantibus abſolvit, ipſe praecipiens ei ut jam peccare deſineret. *Fauſt. l.* 33. *c.* 1.

(*n*) —— cum loquitur mendacium, de ſuis propriis loquitur; quoniam mendax eſt, ſicut et pater ejus. *ap. Arch. c.* 29. *p.* 48. *Conf. c.* 33. *p.* 56. *et cap.* 13. *p.* 24. *f.*

(*o*) *ad Joh. viii.* 44. *et Proleg.* 793.

(*p*) *Hiſt. de Manich. T. i. p.* 105. 388. *T.* 2. *p.* 263.

(*q*) Etſi enim in quibuſdam Latinis exemplaribus non legitur *factus*, ſed, *natus ex ſemine David*, cum Graeca factus habeant, &c. *Contr. Fauſt. l. xi. c.* 4.

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11. *Fauſtus (r)* and *(s) Secundin* quote St. *Paul*'s Epiſtle to the *Epheſians* by that title.

12. I put in the margin the definitions, which *(t) Fauſtus* gives of ſchiſm and hereſie.

(r) Dicit ad Epheſios. *Fauſt. l.* 24. *c.* 1.

(s) Contra quos ſe Apoſtolus in Epheſiorum epiſtola certamen ſubiiſſe fatetur. *Secundin ad Aug. c. i.*

(t) Schiſma, niſi fallor, eſt eadem opinantem atque eodem ritu colentem quo ceteri, ſolo congregationis delectari diſcidio. Secta vero eſt longe alia opinantem quam ceteri, alio etiam ſibi ac longe diſſimuli ritu divinitatis inſtituiſſe culturam. *Fauſt. l.* 20. *c.* 3. Porro autem ſectas ſi quaeras, non plus erunt quam duae, id eſt, Gentium et noſtra, qui eis longe diverſa ſentimus. *ib. c.* 4. *in fin.*

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SECT. VIII.

The Concluſion of the Hiſtorie of the Manicheans.

Sect. VIII. IN compoſing this chapter I have made much uſe of *Beauſobre's Hiſtorie of Manichee, and Manicheiſm.* And I have often quoted him as I have gone along. Nevertheleſs it was fit to make this renewed and final acknowledgement of my Obligations. Sometimes, however, I have differed from him: whether with reaſon, or not, others have a right to judge. That work of *Beauſobre* contains not only a labored hiſtorie of the Manicheans, but likewiſe ſeveral entertaining and uſeful digreſſions concerning the opinions of the Heathen Philoſophers, and the moſt early Chriſtian ſects. I wiſh, ſome learned man might have ſufficient leiſure and encouragement to give us a handſome edition of it in (G) *Engliſh.*

It

(G) What is to be expected of *Beauſobre*, may be concluded

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It may be thought by ſome, that in writing the hiſtorie of this people I have taken a great deal of liberty with the ancient writers of the Chriſtian church. Nevertheleſs, I know, that I have not deſigned to diſparage them. And I humbly hope, that I have not leſſened their juſt credit and authority. No men are infallible. In controverſial writings, eſpecially where the difference of opinion is very great, it is difficult for the beſt of men to keep themſelves entirely free from the influence of prejudice and paſſion. Moreover Manicheiſm is in itſelf an abſtruſe and intricate ſubject: and had it's riſe in *Perſia*, a countrey remote from moſt of thoſe eccleſiaſtical writers, who have come down to us: which makes a good apologie for them, though they ſhould be ſuppoſed to have made ſome

cluded from what he ſays of himſelf, when he enters upon the examination of the ſcandalous ſtorie of the Manichean euchariſt: "As for me, ſays he, whom heaven has pre-"ſerved from the ſpirit of the church, who know no greater "good than freedom of thought, nor any more delightful "employment than the ſearch of truth, nor greater pleaſure "than that of finding and ſpeaking it, I have ſtudied ec-"cleſiaſtical hiſtorie with as little prejudice as poſſible." Pour moi, que le ciel a preſervé de l'eſprit de l'egliſe, qui ne connois point de plus grand bien que la liberté de penſer, de plus douce occupation que la recherche de la verité, ni de plus grand plaiſir que celui de la trouver et de la dire, &c. *Hiſt. de Manichée et du Manicheiſme. T. 2, p. 730.*

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ſome miſtakes, and to have been guilty of ſome miſrepreſentations. It is acknowledged by ſuch as have looked into this matter, (*a*) that the hiſtorie of *Mani* and his followers has long layn in great obſcurity and uncertainty. This may be allowed to be a good reaſon, why I ſhould take ſome more than ordinarie pains about it, and endeavor to avoid and correct the errours, which others ſeem to have fallen into.

It may be eaſily ſuppoſed, that for ſeveral reaſons I could wiſh, this hiſtorie had been ſhorter. However I preſume, it will be found upon tryal, that the length of it is not altogether unprofitable. And I perſuade myſelf, it will afford my readers divers uſeful and agreeable reflections. I propoſe to mention ſome, not doubting, but that others, of taſte and judgement, will think of more.

1. The riſe of Manicheiſm in *Perſia* is a proof of the early planting the goſpel in that countrey. If Chriſtianity had not been there before, *Mani* could not have formed a new ſect of Chriſtians. "Hereſies and ſchiſms, "as

(*a*) Haec nos compendio, et pro more noſtro, de Manete, ejuſque ſcriptis. Cum vero Manetis hiſtoriam mire turbaverint tum veterum, tum recentiorum plures, neque ea adhuc ſatis dilucide expoſita ſit, non abs re erit illam paullo accuratius et explicatius enarrare. *Cav. H. L. in Manete. T. i. p.* 140. *Oxon.*

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" as *(b) Auguſtin* ſays, break the goſpel-nets. Sect. VIII.
" Some in one place, ſome in another: the
" Donatiſts in *Africa*, the Arians in *Egypt*,
" ——the Manicheans in *Perſia*." According to *Abulpharagius*, *Mani* (*c*) was at firſt a Chriſtian prieſt, and he preached, and explained the Scriptures, and diſputed againſt the Jews, the Magi, and the Heathens. *Beauſobre (d)* has an article on purpoſe concerning the planting the goſpel in *Perſia*.

2. We cannot avoid recollecting, in the next place, the juſt obſervation of *Socrates*, taken notice of by us at our entrance into this field: " It is no unuſual thing for coc-
" kle to grow up amongſt good grain." It is no other, than what our Lord foreſaw, and likewiſe forewarned the diſciples of, that they might not be too much ſurprized at the

(*b*) Diſruptis retibus, haereſes et ſchiſmata facta ſunt. Retia quidem omnes concludunt. Sed impatientes piſces, —— ubi poſſunt, impingunt ſe, et rumpunt, et exeunt. —— Et retia quidem illa per totum expanduntur. Qui rumpunt autem, per loca rumpunt. Donatiſtae ruperunt in Africa, Ariani ruperunt in Ægypto, Photiniani ruperunt in Pannonia, Cataphryges ruperunt in Phrygia, Manichaei ruperunt in Perſide. *Aug. Serm.* 252. *n.* 4. *T. v. ed. in Dieb. Paſch. Serm.* 23.

(*c*) Hic primo Chriſtianiſmum prae ſe tulit, et ſacerdos factus eſt Ehwazi, docuitque et interpretatus eſt libros, [ſacros,] et cum Judaeis, Magis, et Ethnicis diſputavit. *Gregor. Abulph. Dynaſt. p.* 82.

(*d*) *T. i. p.* 180. —— 196.

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3. There were early two very different opinions concerning Chriſt. "Some, as (*e*) "*Auguſtin* obſerves, believed Chriſt to be "God, and denyed him to be man. Others "believed

(*e*) Sic enim quidam Deum credendo Chriſtum, et hominem negando erraverant. Et rurſus quidam hominem putando, et Deum negando, aut contemſerunt, aut in homine ſpem ſuam ponentes, in illud maledictum inciderunt. *Contr. Phuſt. l.* 13. *c.* 8. Ait enim, Chriſtus Deus eſt tantum, omnino hominis nihil habens. Hoc Manichaei dicunt. Photiniani, homo tantum; Manichaei, Deus tantum. Illi nihil divinum in Domino confitentur; iſti quaſi totum divinum.—— *Serm.* 37. *c.* 12.

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" believed he was a man, and denyed him " to be God." Of this opinion *(f)* was *Auguſtin* for a while, at his firſt getting out of Manicheiſm, as he ſays, till *(g)* he became acquainted with ſome Platonic writings. And it has been thought by ſome, that this laſt was likewiſe the notion, which (H) the Jews of

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(f) Ego vero aliud putabam, tantumque ſentiebam de Domino Chriſto meo, quantum de excellentis ſapientiae viro, cui nullus poſſet aequari: praeſertim quia mirabiliter natus ex virgine, ad exemplum contemnendorum temporalium pro adipiſcenda immortalitate, divina pro nobis cura tantam auctoritatem magiſterii meruiſſe videbatur. Quid autem ſacramenti haberet, Verbum caro factum eſt, ne ſuſpicari quidem poteram. *Confeſſ. l.* 7. *c.* 19. *n.* 25.

(g) Et primo volens oſtendere mihi, —— quod Verbum tuum caro factum eſt, et habitavit inter homines, procuraſti mihi per quemdam hominem —— Platonicorum libros ex Graeca lingua in Latinam verſos. Et ibi legi, non quidem his verbis, ſed hoc idem omnino multis et multiplicibus ſuaderi rationibus, quod in principio erat Verbum, &c. *Confeſſ. l.* 7. *c.* 9. *n.* 13. *et* 14. *Vid. ib. l.* 8. *c.* 2. *n.* 3.

(H) *Beauſobre*'s account of that matter is to this purpoſe: " At the begining of Chriſtianity there aroſe two oppoſite errours concerning the perſon of our Saviour. The firſt obtained among the Chriſtians that came out of Judaiſm. Many perſuaded themſelves, that the Chriſt was but a mere man, diſtinguiſhed from others by the abundance of divine gifts conferred upon him, and by his incomparable virtues. In the time of the Apoſtles, ſays *Athanaſius*, the Jews were in this errour, and drew the Gentils into it: that the Chriſt is only a mere man, that he is not God, and that the word was not made fleſh. *De Sent. Dionyſ.* p. *m.* 432. Theſe Jews were not the unbelieving Jews, but ſuch as made profeſſion of Chriſtianity. But though they

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of old had of their expected Meſſiah. Therefore *Athanaſius* ſays, " that *(h)* the Apoſtles " of Chriſt, well knowing the Jewiſh pre- " judices upon this head, with great wiſdom " firſt inſtructed them in our Saviour's hu- " manity." The former was the opinion of the Manicheans, and of many others before them. *Jerome* ſays, " that *(i)* whilſt the " Apoſtles

" they agreed ſo far, they were not all of the ſame mind " concerning the nativity of our Saviour. Some believed, " that he was the ſon of *Joſeph* and *Marie*. —— Others ac- " knowledged, that he was born of a virgin, and conceived " by the ſole operation of the Holy Spirit. Neither the " one nor the other refuſed him the title of the Son of God: " but they imagined, that it was given him on account of " the eminence of his office, the excellence of his gifts, his " glorious reſurrection, the ſovereign authority and dominion, " to which he was advanced by the Father. To all which " theſe laſt added his miraculous nativity. Theſe kept the " name of Nazarenes, which had been given to the firſt be- " lievers. The others were called Ebionites. Theſe two " are the moſt ancient hereſies of Chriſtianity. Antiquiſſi- " ma haereſis iſta fuit, et ab ipſo religionis Chriſtianae exor- " dio graſſari coepit. Petav. Dogm. Th. T. v. De Incarn. " l. 1. 2. §. 3. In a ſhort time aroſe another, quite oppo- " ſite, but not leſs pernicious than the former. *Hiſt. Ma-* " *nich. T. 2. p.* 517.

(h) Επειδὴ γὰρ οἱ τότε ἰουδαῖοι —— ἐνόμιζον τὸν χριστὸν ψιλὸν ἄνθρωπον μόνον, ἐκ σπέρματος δαβὶδ ἔρχεσθαι —— τότε ἕνεκα μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς συνέσεως οἱ μακάριοι ἀπόστολοι τὰ ἀνθρώπινα τῦ σωτῆρος πρῶτον ἐξηγοῦντο τοῖς ἰουδαίοις. *Athan. de Sent. Dion. T. i. p.* 248. *C.*

(i) Apoſtolis adhuc in ſeculo ſuperſtitibus, adhuc apud Judaeam Chriſti ſanguine recenti, phantaſma Domini corpus aſſerebatur. *Hier. adv. Lucif. T. 4. p.* 304. *in.*

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" Apoſtles were ſtill living, and when the " bloud of Chriſt was ſcarce cold in *Judea*, " there were men, who taught, that his body " was no more than a phantom." This opinion is more than once cenſured by *(k) Ignatius* in his Epiſtles, writ ſoon after the begining of the ſecond centurie: which, as *(l) Cotelerius* obſerves, plainly ſhews the early riſe of this falſe doctrine. Sect. VIII.

4. We may now diſcern the true character of the Manicheans. I formerly ſayd, they were *rather a ſect of reaſoners and Philoſophers, than enthuſiaſts.* But they were very indifferent critics. Otherwiſe, they would not have treated the New Teſtament, as they did: nor have pretended, that thoſe books were falſly inſcribed, and greatly interpolated, which had ſuch evidences of genuinneſſe and integrity. *Fauſtus*, ſo celebrated a teacher among them, does not appear to have been a man of much reading. He had a plauſible way of ſpeaking, and an agreeable manner of ſetting off his opinions. And that is all. Though the Manicheans made high preten-

(k) Εἰ δὲ ὥσπερ τινὲς ἄθεοι ὄντες, τυτέστιν ἄπιστοι, λέγουσιν, τὸ δοκεῖν πεπονθέναι αὐτὸν, κ. λ. *Ign. ad Trall. c. x. et paſſim.*

(l) Solem negaret meridie lucere, qui docetas ſeu phantaſiaſtas haereticos temporibus apoſtolorum inſiciaretur erupiſſe. *Cotel. ad Ign. Ep. ad. Trall. c. x.*

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sions to *(m)* truth, reason, science, they did not escape superstition. With all their boastings of that kind, and the contempt they expressed for the credulity of the Catholics, and their numerous rites, there was not a sect that rendered themselves more miserable by affected austerities, than the Manicheans. The restraints layed on all the higher order, the Elect, with regard to marriage, diet, and secular business, must, I think, have more than equalled all the superstitious usages of the Catholics at that time. And when it is considered, what *(n)* difficulty the Manichean Auditors must have had to maintain their Elect, and with how little hopes of getting to heaven at last: I mean directly, without the fatigue of I know not how many transmigrations, as it might happen: this people must appear ridiculous, and contemptible.

5. The subsistence of the Christian religion to our time, notwithstanding the many dangers

(*m*) Incidi in homines superbe delirantes. —— Et dicebant: Veritas, et veritas. Et multum eam dicebant mihi. *Aug. Conf. l.* 3. *cap.* 6. *sub. in.* —— ut a vobis, magnis omnino pollicitatoribus rationis atque veritatis, quaeram.—— *De M. Manich. c.* 17. *n.* 55.

(*n*) Quid autem fallitis Auditores vestros, qui cum suis uxoribus, et filiis, et familiis, et domibus, et agris vobis serviunt, —— eis non resurrectionem, sed revolutionem ad istam mortalitatem promittitis, ut rursus nascantur, —— *Contr. Faust. l.* 5. *cap.* x. *Vid. supra. p.* 263. *not.* (*s*)

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dangers it has been exposed to, affords us reason to hope, it shall maintain itself, and be upheld to the end of time, whatever oppositions may be yet made against it. It cannot encounter worse enemies, than it has already experienced, and withstood. Nor can there arise more absurd, or more different opinions in the Church, and among Christians, than there were in former times. Some there have been, who have handed down to us, in the main, the genuine principles of the Christian religion. And by the events of past ages we are encouraged to trust in providence, and do our best to serve the cause and interests of truth and liberty. Sect. VIII.

6. It is not unlikely, that differences of opinion, and the disputes they occasion, are some way of use for advancing the interest of truth. The great *Augustin* was plainly of this opinion. He says, that (*o*) objections

(*o*) Sed ideo divina providentia multos diversi erroris haereticos esse permittit, ut cum insultant nobis, et interrogant nos ea quae nescimus, vel sic excutiamus pigritiam, et divinas scripturas nosse cupiamus. Propterea et Apostolus dicit: Oportet haereses esse, ut probati manifesti fiant inter vos. Illi enim Deo probati sunt, qui bene possunt docere. Sed manifesti hominibus esse non possunt, nisi eum docent: docere autem nolunt, nisi eos qui doceri quaerunt. Sed multi ad quaerendum pigri sunt, nisi per molestias et insultationes haereticorum quasi de somno excitentur, et de illa imperitia sua periclitari

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againſt Scripture, and falſe interpretations, excite our zeal and induſtrie, and induce to ſtudy, untill we have learned the right ſenſe. *Auguſtin* has upon ſeveral occaſions ſpoken *(p)* of the advantage, which the Catholic intereſt receives from hereſies.

7. The Manicheans have not weakened, but confirmed the evidence of the Chriſtian religion. They agree with other Chriſtians in acknowledging the dignity of Chriſt's perſon, his high authority, and the authority of his Apoſtles, and other things, which were formerly inſiſted on by us, and need not to be repeated here. And they received all, or

riclitari ſe ſentiant. Qui homines, ſi bonae ſint fidei, non cedunt haereticis, ſed quid eis reſpondeant diligentius inquirunt. Nec eos deſerit Deus, ut petentes accipiant, et quaerentes inveniant, et pulſantibus aperiatur. *Aug. de Geneſi contr. Manich. l. i. c. i. n.* 2. Didicimus enim, ſingulas quaſque haereſes intuliſſe eccleſiae proprias quaeſtiones, contra quas diligentius defenderetur ſcriptura divina, quam ſi nulla neceſſitas cogeret. *Id. de Dono Perſever. c.* 20. *n.* 23. *Tom.* 10.

(p) Utitur enim [Eccleſia Catholica] gentibus ad materiam operationis ſuae, haereticis ad probationem doctrinae ſuae. *De Vera Relig. cap.* 6. *n.* 10. *Tom. i.* Sed quoniam veriſſime dictum eſt, oportet multas haereſes eſſe, —— utamur etiam iſto divinae providentiae beneficio. Ex his enim hominibus haeretiei fiunt, qui etiamſi eſſent in eccleſia, nihilominus errarent. Cum autem foris ſunt, plurimum proſunt, non verum docendo, quod neſciunt, ſed ad verum quaerendum carnales, et ad verum aperiendum ſpiritales Catholicos excitando. —— Quapropter multi, ut diem Dei videant et gaudeant, per haereticos de ſomno excitantur. *ib. cap.* 8. *n.* 18.

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or well nigh all the ſame books of the New Teſtament, which were received by other Chriſtians. They ſayd indeed, that thoſe Scriptures had been interpolated in ſome time paſt. But they never corrupted or interpolated them, nor attempted it. Nor could they, or any others, corrupt them, if they would, as *(q) Auguſtin* obſerves. And the controverſie with them has occaſioned the writing of many books, containing numerous quotations of the Scriptures, and excellent vindications of their genuinneſſe, and integrity. Sect. VIII.

8. We are very much indebted to *Auguſtin*, and many other learned Chriſtians of former times, who aſſerted and maintained the authority of the Old, and the genuinneſſe and integrity of the New Teſtament, and gave a better account of the creation of the world, of *(r)* human liberty, and *(s)* the

(q) Qua igitur cauſſa a vobis corrumpi non poſſent, hac de cauſſa a nemine potuerunt. *Contr. Fauſt. l.* 32. *c.* 16.

(r) Ἐσι μὲν ἓν ἡ κακία ἀνύσιον, καὶ ἀνυπόσατον· πρᾶξις μᾶλλον ἡ ὐσία ἔσα, καὶ πρᾶξις ἐκ προαιρέσεως συμβάνυσα. κ. λ. *Serap. contr. Manich. p.* 44. *fin.*

(s) Peccatorum originem non libero arbitrio voluntatis, ſed ſubſtantiae tribuunt gentis adverſae: quam dogmatizantes eſſe hominibus mixtam, omnem carnem non Dei, ſed malae mentis perhibent eſſe opificium, quae a contrario principio Deo coaeterna eſt. &c. *De Haer. cap.* 46. *ſub fin.*

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nature and origin of evil, than was taught by these people.

9. We may hence learn to exercise moderation toward men of different sentiments, and to keep our temper in disputing with them. In all probability, we shall never meet with any men, Christians at least, who differ more from us, than the Manicheans did from the Catholics. Those unreasonable men rejected all the Scriptures of the Old Testament in the lump. They asserted, that the books of the New Testament had been long ago interpolated, and that they were not all writ by those whose names they bear. They held two eternal Principles, and denyed the humanity of Christ, and the resurrection of the body. And yet *Augustin* professeth much mildness and moderation toward them. And entering into an argument with them, he

. Quam concupiscentiam, quod saepe inculcandum est, non vitium substantiae bonae, sed malam vult esse substantiam. *Op. Imp. l.* 3: *c.* 105.

Vos autem asseritis quamdam naturam atque substantiam malum esse. *De M. Manich. cap.* 2. *n.* 2.

Veritas autem dicit, omnia ista quae videmus, et quae non videmus, quae naturaliter subsistunt, a Deo facta esse : in quibus rationalem creaturam, etiam ipsam factam, sive in angelis sive in hominibus, accepisse liberum arbitrium : quo libero arbitrio si Deo servire vellet, secundum voluntatem ac legem Dei, haberet apud eum aeternam felicitatem. —— Ecce autem liberum arbitrium, atque inde peccare quemque si velit, non peccare si nolit, &c. *Aug. ap. Act. cum Felic. l.* 2. *c.* 3.

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he offers to God a fervent prayer, that *(u)* he may be enabled to govern his paſſions, and ſeek their converſion, not their deſtruction. Poſſibly he did not always fully obſerve the rules, which in the time of ſedate judgement he preſcribed to himſelf, as juſt and reaſonable. But the paſſage, which I chiefly refer to, is ſo beautiful, and emphatical, that I have tranſcribed it largely at the bottom of the (*x*) page. And I would tranſlate it too, but

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(*u*) Unum verum Deum omnipotentem —— et rogavi, et rogo, ut in refellenda et revincenda haereſi veſtra, Manichaei, cui et vos fortaſſe imprudentius quam malitioſius adhaeſiſtis, det mihi mentem pacatam atque tranquillam, et magis de veſtra correctione, quam de ſubverſione cogitantem. *Contr. Ep. Fund. cap. i. in.*

(*x*) Illi in vos ſaeviant, qui neſciunt cum quo labore verum inveniatur, et quam difficile caveantur errores. Illi in vos ſaeviant, qui neſciunt quam rarum et arduum ſit carnalia phantaſmata piae mentis ſerenitate ſuperare. Illi in vos ſaeviant, qui neſciunt cum quanta difficultate ſanetur oculus interioris hominis. —— Illi in vos ſaeviant, qui neſciunt quibus ſuſpiriis et gemitibus fiat, ut ex quantulacunque parte poſſit intelligi Deus. Poſtremo in vos ſaeviant, qui nunquam tali errore decepti ſunt, quali vos deceptos vident. Ego autem, qui diu multumque jactatus, tandem reſpicere potui, —— qui denique illa figmenta, quae vos diuturna conſuetudine implicatos et conſtrictos tenent, et quaeſivi curioſe, et adtente audivi, et temere credidi, et inſtanter quibus potui perſuaſi, —— ſaevire in vos non poſſum, quos ſicut me ipſum illo tempore, ita nunc debeo ſuſtinere, et tanta patientia vobiſcum agere, quanta mecum egere proximi mei, cum in veſtro dogmate rabioſus et caecus errarem. *ibid. cap.* 2. *n.* 2. 3.

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Sect. VIII. but that I am not able to reach the energie of his expreſſions. In the general he ſays: "Let them be ſevere againſt you, who know "not with what labour truth is diſcovered, "and how difficultly errour is avoided. Let "them be ſevere againſt you, who know "not how hardly the diſeaſes of the mind "are cured, and the eye of the underſtand- "ing ſtrengthened to bear the light. Let "them be ſevere againſt you, who are in- "ſenſible, how little we can know of God, "after our beſt endeavours to underſtand his "perfections. Let them treat you with ri- "gour, who never were entangled in a like "errour. As for me, I can by no means "treat you in that manner: But muſt exer- "ciſe toward you that patience and long- "ſuffering, which I once wanted, and which "my friends ſhewed me, when with a blind "and furious zeal I not only maintained, "but propagated to the utmoſt of my power, "the principle, in which you are ſtill en- "gaged."

It will be one good uſe of all this long hiſtorie, if we learn to form charitable ſentiments of other men, and to practiſe moderation toward them: no longer debating with thoſe who differ from us, as if we were infallible, but as inquirers after truth, even as we

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we desire they should do: which *(y)* also is particularly recommended by the same renowned writer.

(y) ——illud quovis judice impetrare me a vobis oportet, ut in utraque parte omnis arrogantia deponatur. Nemo nostrum dicat, se jam invenisse veritatem. Sic eam quaeramus, quasi ab utrisque nesciatur. Ita enim diligenter et concorditer quaeri poterit, si nulla temeraria praesumtione inventa et cognita esse credatur. *Id. ib. n.* 4.

§ ECT.

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SECT. IX.

The PAULICIANS.

I. *Their Hiſtorie.* II. *Their Teſtimonie to the Scriptures.*

Sect. IX. *Their hiſtorie.*

I. I TAKE this opportunity to give a brief account of the Paulicians, who were mentioned (*a*) before, and are uſually reckoned a branch of the Manicheans. But *Beauſobre* ſays, that (*b*) though they are ſometimes confounded with the Manicheans, they agreed but little with them. And indeed, *Peter* of *Sicilie* intimates, that (*c*) they did not own themſelves to be Manicheans.

They are generally ſuppoſed to have firſt appeared in the ſeventh centurie, in the countrey of *Armenia*, and to have been ſo called from

(*a*) *See p.* 96.

(*b*) *B. T.* 2. *p.* 765.

(*c*) Qui tametſi ſe a Manichaeorum impuritatibus alienos dictitant, ſunt tamen dogmatum ipſorum vigilantiſſimi cuſtodes et propugnatores. *Pet. Sic. ap. Bib. P. P. Max. T.* 16. *p.* 754. *B.*

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from *(d)Paul*, ſon of *Callinice*, a Manichean woman, who had another ſon named *John*: who alſo was a zealous preacher of this doctrine, called revived Manicheiſm. Sect. IX.

Photius ſays, they *(e)* hold two Principles, as the Manicheans do. He *(f)* calls *Mani* their maſter. He continually conſiders their ſect, as a *(g)* branch of Manicheiſm.

I formerly *(h)* mentioned a particularity of theirs. *Photius* likewiſe ſays, that *(i)* they did not chooſe to have their miniſters called prieſts, but ſcribes or ſecretaries, or *companions in travel*, the word uſed in Acts xix. 29. and 2 Cor. viii. 19.

II. I now proceed to obſerve their teſtimonie to the Scriptures. *Their teſtimonie to the Scriptures.*

1. *Photius*

(d) Ἐν τούτῃ γυνή τις ὀνόματι καλλινίκη —— δύο τίκτει παῖδας, —— Ἐκ δατέρε τούτων τῶν εἰρημένων, ὅτῳ παύλῳ ἦν ὄνομα —— παυλικιάνων κλῆσιν οἱ τῆς ἀποσασίας ἐρασαὶ μετηλλάξαντο. *Ph. contr. Manich. l. i. c. 2. p. 4. 5. Vid. et Petr. Sic. ib. p. 759. A.*

(e) Δύο μὲν ἀρχὰς ὁμολογοῦσιν, ὡς οἱ μανιχαῖοι. *Phot. ib. l. i. c. 6. in.*

(f) Καὶ τοιγε τὸ διδασκάλε αὐτῶν μάνεντος, κ. λ. *ib. c. 8. p. 24.*

(g) ὡς τὸ μάνεντος παραφυάδες. *ib. l. 4. c. 1. in. et passim.*

(h) *See p. 96. and 97.*

(i) Τὰς μέντοι παρ' αὐτοῖς ἱερέων τάξιν ἐπέχοντας οὐκ ἱερεῖς, ἀλλὰ συνεδήμους καὶ νοταρίους ἐπονομάζουσι. *l. i. c. 9. p. 31. Conf. c. 25. p. 134. et Wolf. not. in loc.*

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Sect. IX.

1. *Photius* ſays, they *(k)* reject the holy Prophets and all the Old Teſtament, and the ancient ſaints in general, calling them thieves and robbers.

2. "As for the Scriptures of the New "Teſtament, *Photius* ſays, they *(l)* receive "the Goſpel, and the Apoſtle; [meaning "the Goſpels, and the Epiſtles of the Apoſtle "*Paul*, at leſt;] which the Chriſtian church "receives and honors, and has delivered to "them. Theſe they receive without alter-"ing, or corrupting them in any material "things, as *Valentin*, and ſome others have "done. But they pervert them from their "true meaning, to ſupport their apoſtaſie."

3. Afterwards, having quoted 2 Pet. iii. 15. 16. and having applyed to them what St. *Peter* ſays of ſome who wreſted the Scriptures to their own deſtruction, he ſays: "As (*m*) for the oracles of the Lord, and "the

(k) Αλλὰ γὰρ καὶ τὰς ἱερὰς προφήτας, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν παλαιὰν γραφὴν, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀποσρέφονται ἁγίας, λῃσὰς καὶ πλέπτας ἀποκαλοῦντες. *ib. l. i. c. 8. p. 23.*

(l) Τὸ μέντοι εὐαγγέλιον, καὶ τὸν ἀπόσολον, ἃ καὶ τὸ θεῖον τῶν χριστιανῶν περιπτύσσεται καὶ τιμᾷ σύνταγμα, ἐγγράφως τέτοις παρέθετο, τοῖς ῥήμασι μὲν καὶ ὀνόμασιν οὐδὲν μέγα παραλλάττων τῆ λόγῳ τὸ ἀχῆμα, κ, λ. *l. 1. c. 3. p. 9. Vid. et p. 10. 11.*

(m) Οἱ αὐτά τε τὰ κυριακὰ λόγια, καὶ τὰ ἀποσολικὰ, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας γραφὰς, φημὶ δὴ τάς τε πράξεις τῶν ἀποσόλων, καὶ τὰς

" the Apoſtles, and the other Scriptures; Sect. IX.
" (by which laſt I mean the Acts of the
" Apoſtles, and the Epiſtles called Catholic;)
" excepting thoſe of the chief Apoſtle, they
" receive them. For thoſe aſcribed to him
" they do not receive at all. And concern-
" ing the Acts of the Apoſtles, and the Ca-
" tholic Epiſtles, they are not all of the
" ſame opinion. For ſome reject them,
" whilſt others joyn them with the other
" Scriptures received by all."

4. *Photius* does alſo elſewhere expreſsly ſay, they (*n*) rejected *Peter*, becauſe he denyed his Lord and Maſter. Mr. *Wolff* therefore ſays, that (*o*) perhaps theſe are the only Chriſtians, that ever rejected both of St. *Peter*'s Epiſtles.

5. In

καὶ τὰς καθολικὰς λεγομένας, πλὴν τῶν ἀναφερομένων εἰς τὸν κορυφαῖον, ἐκείνας γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῖς ῥήμασιν παραδέχονται. —— Καὶ τὰς πράξεις δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τὰς καθολικὰς ὁ πάντες αὐτῶν συναριθμοῦσι τοῖς ἄλλοις, εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ συντάττουσι. *Id. l. i. c.* 8. *p.* 27.

(*n*) —— μάλιστα δὲ τὸν κορυφαῖον τῶν ἀποστόλων πέτρον δυσφημοῦσιν, ὅτι γέγονεν ἐξαρνός, φασι, τῆς εἰς τὸν διδάσκαλον καὶ χριστὸν πίστεως. *ib. c.* 8. *p.* 24.

(*o*) Hi igitur forte ſoli ex omni Chriſtianorum antiquitate utramque Petri epiſtolam averſati ſunt, cum Euſebius lib. iii. c. 3. H. E. teſtetur priorem ab omnibus, poſteriorem ab antiquioribus non receptam fuiſſe. At hi quidem id fecerunt, oborta, an Petri ea ſit, dubitatione; illi vero, ex temerario quodam in Petrum odio. *Wolff. ib. p.* 27.

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Sect. IX.

5. In another place: "They (*p*) admit, "as the rule of their faith, the oracles of "the Lord, and the epistles of the great "Apostle *Paul*, and some of them the Acts "of the Apostles, and the Catholic Epistles, "except those of the chief Apostle."

6. Again, "they (*q*) endeavor to confirm "their doctrines by the Scriptures of the "Gospel, and the divine Apostle *Paul*."

7. He quotes to them (*r*) the divine *Luke* in the Acts, though, as he adds, many of the sect do not receive that book.

8. He quotes to them expressly (*s*) *Paul*'s Epistle to the *Hebrews*, or *Jews*, as his word is.

9. What regard the Paulicians had for the book of the Revelation, I cannot particularly say, *Photius* not quoting it in his argument with them.

10. I

(*p*) ἐν οἷς τότε κυριακὰ ἀναγέγραπται λόγια, καὶ τῶ μεγάλε ἀποστόλε παύλε αἱ ἐπιστολαὶ, καὶ παρ' ἐνίοις τῶν ἀποστόλων αἱ πράξεις, καὶ τῶν καθολικῶν ὅσαι παρὰ τὰς τῦ κορυφαίε τογχάνεσιν. *ib. l. i. c.* 13. *p.* 56. 57.

(*q*) οἷς τε τὰς εὐαγγελικὰς γραφὰς τιμᾶν ἐχυρίζονται, καὶ οἷς τὸν ἀπόστολον καὶ θεοφόρον παῦλον τῦ οἰκείε φρονήματος δογματισὴν καὶ διδάσκαλον κατασφεύδονται. *l.* 4. *c.* 6. *p.* 133.

(*r*) Τὰ ἴσα δὲ καὶν τοῖς πράξεσιν ὁ θεῖος λεκᾶς, εἰ καὶ τὸ πλεῖσον τῆς ἀποστασίας αὐτῶν τὰς ἐκείνε φωνὰς ὑ προσίεται. *l.* 2. *c.* 6. *p.* 187.

(*s*) Τῷ σωτῆρι γὰρ ἡμῶν ὁ παῦλος πρὸς ἑβδόμες γράφων, τὴν πατρικὴν ἁρμόζει φωνὴν, κ. λ. *l.* 2. *c.* κ. *p.* 185.

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10. I add one thing more. Theſe *(t)* people greatly reſpected the Scriptures of the New Teſtament, and approved, that all people, the laity, and even women, ſhould read, ſtudy, and underſtand them. This appears from a ſtorie told by *Photius* of a converſation between a Manichean woman, and *Sergius*, who afterwards became a zealous promoter of the ſect.

11. I have almoſt entirely confined myſelf to *Photius*, not thinking it needful to be more particular at preſent, or to copy much from *Peter*, or any other author, concerning ſo late a ſect. However I ſhall briefly obſerve, that *Peter* of *Sicilie* in the main agrees with *Photius*; often ſaying, that the Paulicians rejected the Old Teſtament, and uſed only the Goſpels, and the Apoſtle. In particular, he ſays: "They *(u)* receive the four Goſ-

" pels,

(t) Ἡ προειρημένη μανιχαία γυνὴ, ἡνίκα τὸ πρῶτον εἰς ὁμιλίαν αὐτῷ κατέστη, Ἵνα τί, φησιν, ἐπέ μοι, τὰ θεῖα οὐκ ἀναγινώσκεις εὐαγγέλια; Ὁ δὲ —— μὴ ἐξεῖναι φήσας τὴν τῶν λαικῶν πληρῶντι τάξιν ἀνέδην ἕτως τὴν τῶν φρικτῶν λογίων ποιεῖσθαι ἀνάγνωσιν, ἀνεῖσθαι γὰρ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν τὸ ἔργον. *l. i. c.* 20. *p.* 100.

(*u*) Quod veteris inſtrumenti tabulas non admittant, prophetaſque planos et latrones appellent, —— aut ſola duntaxat ſacra quatuor evangelia, et S. Pauli Apoſtoli denas quaternas epiſtolas recipiant, Jacobi item Catholicam, ternas Joannis, Catholicam Judae, cum Actis Apoſtolorum, iiſdem quibus

apud

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" pels, and the fourteen Epiſtles of *Paul*, " and the Catholic Epiſtle of *James*, and " the three Epiſtles of *John*, and the Catho- " lic Epiſtle of *Jude*, and the Acts of the " Apoſtles, without making any alterations " in them. But they admit not the two " Epiſtles of the chief of the Apoſtles."

12. Upon the whole, the Paulicians, according to theſe accounts, received the books of the New Teſtament, as they were received by other Chriſtians, excepting the two Epiſtles of *Peter:* which they entirely rejected, if theſe authors ſay right. But what was their ſentiment concerning the Revelation, we cannot ſay.

apud nos ſunt verbis.—— Binas Catholicas magni et immobilis eccleſiae fundamenti,—— principis apoſtolorum, non admittunt. *Petr. ubi ſupr. p.* 756. *E.*

AN

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